THE COMPARISON OF PLATO AND ARISTOTLE.

With the

OPINIONS

Of the Fathers on their

DOCTRINE.

AND

Some Christian Reflections.

Translated from the French.

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To his Grace the Duke of
ORMOND, &c.
CHANCELLOUR
Of the UNIVERSITY of
OXFORD, &c.

THat I owe all I have, and all I am, to your Graces Goodneſs, is a truth I have (whereever I am known) ſo often declared, I can pretend to no advantage from

the World, by making it this way more publick; and to imagine I can at all merit, by Preſenting a Thing ſo little my own to ſo great a Perſon, and ſo much better acquainted with the Habit it firſt wore then my ſelf, would appear not onely ridiculous, but ſenſeleſs.

There then remaius onely for Excuſe of this Preſumption, that ſublime and elevated power the Great have in themſelves, whereby they force upon

on inferiour minds a desire of waiting and attending in all the Capacities they can upon their Glories: And 'tis this ambition has in me over-ruled all the opposing lights of Reason.

To wave then the right I might seem to have of imploring your Grace to Patronize this Work now it is made speak English, (whilst it treats of two of the greatest Philosophers that ever lived, and whilst its Author gives judge-

ment

ment in favour of that Philo-sophy which has ever been so well approved by that Univer-sity, who have so worthily made choice of You for their Protect-our) Give me leave onely to throw it at your Feet as a re-mark of my Duty, and as a To-ken of my Inclination to offer my Mite of Devotion, where all men pay so due a Reverence.

For though the long Succes-si-on of Nobility from whence you are descended, attracts a

just

just respect from all the world; yet the proper Virtues of your Person do more command our admiration; and that unexampled Loyalty accompanied with such infinite Judgement and Wisdom, wherewith you have ever served your King and Countrey in the highest Charges, exacts the Service of all Hearts.

Nor have either God or your Prince been forgetful of such high Merits; the first having

blessed you with a numerous and glorious Issue, and the last raised both Them and You to Stations befitting such sublime Virtues; so that in some partieulars you may justly boast what never Subject before you could do.

I could say more (my Lord) upon this Subject, did I not know your Glories are so bright, that all the world knows more then I can say. Pardon then, great Sir, what is said in respect to this small Treatise, which

which may prove useful to the publick; and be graciously pleased to believe I think I can never say enough to satisfie my Zeal, and the ardent desire I have to approve my self,

May it please your Grace,

Your Graces most humble, most faithful, and most obedient Servant,

JOHN DANCER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

NEVER were men more eager for Philoſophy then now a days, nor ever fewer true Philoſophers. They Imagine a chance hit in Chimiſtry, or the knowledge of ſome Figures in Geometry ſufficient to ſtart up a Philoſopher; but they are deceived. Philoſophy is ſomething more excellent; and 'tis neither the ſmoak of an Alembick, nor the windings of a pair of Compaſſes, can form a Philoſopher The experience of Chymiſtry

Chymiſtry in its forms may indeed reach a Phyſical certainty, but can never arrive at demonſtration; and the moſt able Geometrician, ſayes *Ammonius*, cannot become wiſe, unleſs he be a Metaphyſician. Perfect Philoſophy then not being to be attained; but by the knowledge of other Arts and Sciences, there will be required thereunto a ſolid Spirit, great ſtudy, much labour, and a ſuitable erudition, together with a profound knowledge of antiquity; I am in this matter of *Plato*'s mind. I call ſtedfaſtneſs of Soul, conſtancy, fidelity. and ſound ſenſe, true Philophy

Ammon. in Porphyr.

Multis artibus opus eſt ut ad Philoſophiam accedi poſſit. La. lib. 2. c. 25. inſt.

Τὸ γὰρ βέβαιον καὶ πίστον καὶ ὑγιὲς τοῦτο ἐγώ φημι εἶναι τὴν ἀληθινὴν σοφίαν. Plat. Epiſt. ad Ariſt.

Philoſophy, which indeed is no other thing then to be truly reaſonable, and truly virtuous, nor can this ſecret conſiſt in thoſe ſubtile refinements of Logick, thoſe new delicacies of Morality, or thoſe ridiculous Whimſies in the Phyſicks, now ſo much *a la mode.* This new Northern Philoſophy now cryed up, appears falſe to me; for that by its releaſing the Spirit, and avoidance of labour, it neglects thoſe preparations neceſſary to ſound reaſonings, and deep ſpeculation, confining it ſelf to a dry operation, which has nothing in it ſolid, becauſe it is not ſuſtained by Reaſon. 'tis a moſt Phantaſtick thing to pretend to reduce the general extents of this Science to experience aad diſtillation, and

to

to ſeek ſo fooliſhly by the three Principles of *Salt*, *Sulphur* and *Mercury*, that univerſal Spirit, which is utterly Chimerical, yet will theſe new Philoſophers, and halfe witted people, cry down the ancient Philoſophy to eſtabliſh ſuch a modern fancy prejudicial to good manners, and dangerous to Religion, which ſhould oblige the well affected to be more zealous for the old Philoſophy, which St. *Thomas* has ſo much praiſed, of which he has made ſo much good uſe in the explaining our Myſteries, and which was ne-ver found falſe but in the falſe uſe of it.

Si quid in dictis Philoſophum inveniatur repugnans fidei illud non eſt Philoſophia deſumptum, ſed ob ejus abuſu procedere poteſt per rationi defectum; nam verum alteri vero nullo pacto repugnare poteſt. St. Thom. in Coment. ad lib. Trin. q. 2. Art 3.

This

This is the principal cauſe has made me chooſe to write of the Philoſophy of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, not to inſpire in our age a vain ſpirit of Curioſity; but to teach thoſe who are truly faithful the uſe ought to be made of Philoſophy, to render it ſerviceable to our Religion, and to make them well underſtand that the knowledge of the ancients, and good learning, ſhould be the ordinary Arms for a Chriſtian to defeat error and lyes; for which reaſon *Tertullian* heretofore exhorted the Chriſtians of his time to be Philoſophers for the better oppoſing Hereticks that urged it, and that the Emperour *Julian* forbad the

Philoſophari non provocant Heretic; Tert. lib. de reſur.

Veritatis teſtificationem timebat. Ar. l. 1 contra. gentes

faithful

faithful the ſtudy of Learning and Philoſophy, becauſe he feared the truth; and for the ſame reaſon likewiſe St. *Baſil* compoſed a Homily to engage Chriſtians to read Heathen Books, to advantage themſelves by their lights after the example of *Moſes* and *Daniel*; that St. *Cyril* againſt *Julian*, *Theodoret* in his Hiſtory, and many other fathers have done the ſame.

Baſil in Homil. Cyril. in proleg. contra Julian The. lib. 6. c. 17. Hiſt. Melchior Cæn. loc. x.

This is what I chiefly deſigned in this work, which I believed might be uſeful in the Circumſtances of the age we live in; others will perhaps be of my mind, if without letting themſelves be blinded by the calmneſs and proſperity of our Religion, which appears

pears ſo flouriſhing, they ſhall reflect how out of an itch of very dangerous curioſity there is raiſed in *Germany*, and almoſt through all the North, a new Spirit of Philoſophy, leading to direct libertiniſme; I do not hereby blame the moſt laudable induſtry which many learned men, both in *England* and *France*, practice in the ſtudy of Phyſick, enriching daily with new experience ſo neceſſary a Science; but I maintain that true philoſophy cannot flouriſh unleſs ſuſtained by profound Learning, and perfect knowledge of antiquity, and therein I return to what has been formerly ſaid by *Plutarch*. That knowing only the Phyſicks 'tis in vain to attempt deciding any thing; and know-

ing only the Physicks, 'tis in vain to attempt deciding any thing, and knowing only Logick begets a punctilious spirit, and a love of dispute; to aim at Philosophy we must begin by Logick, and none can understand Logick as they should, unless they be excellent Metaphysicians. These parts of Philosophy do so mutually aid and assist each other, 'tis impossible to separate them without weakening the whole.

This may possibly be found out by this work; at least it will be clearly seen by what degrees *Plato* and *Aristotle* became such great Philosophers. I have begun with the History of their persons, without cloking any thing, the better to make them known as they were.

I have

I have explained their Method in the Second Part, to ſhew how they ſhould be ſtudied; and in the third have expoſed their Doctrine not in the Particles of it, of which neither our Tongue, nor the palat of the age is capable; in which likewiſe I have endeavoured to confine my ſelf not to become tedious by too dry a diſcuſſion, if it had been too exact. I proceed to explain in the fourth part the opinions of the Fathers on the Doctrine of theſe two Philoſophers, to teach the Judgment upon, and uſe of them, by that of the Primitive Chriſtians. I conclude the work by ſome Chriſtian reflections to make it profitable to them ſhall read it, and to the end none may reproch the pu-

rity of my intentions, I declare that in accuſing new opinions, I mean none but ſuch as are diſſonant to Religion.

The

THE TABLE OF THE CHAPTERS.

Part the First.

Chap. 1. *The Propoſition of the deſign* Page 1.
Chap. 2. *Of the birth of Philoſophy.* 5
Chap. 3. *The Perſon of* Plato. 19
Chap. 4. *The Perſon of* Ariſtotle. 67

Chap.

Chap. 5. *The Compariſon of their Manners and Parts.* 46

Part the Second.

Of their Method.

Chap. 1. *The Method of* Plato, 53
Chap. 2. *The Method of* Ariſtotle. 67

Third Part.

Of their Doctrine by their Principles.

Chap. 1. Plato's *Logick.* 78
Chap. 2. Ariſtotles *Logick.* 81
Chap. 3. Plato's *Morals.* 88
Chap. 4. Ariſtotles *Morals.* 92
Chap. 5. Plato's *Phyſicks.* 103
Chap. 6. Ariſtotles *Phyſicks.* 106

Chap.

Chap. 7. Plato's *Metaphyſicks.* 112

Chap. 8. Ariſtotle's *Metaphyſicks.* 115

The Fourth Part.

The Opinions of the Wiſe men of all Ages upon the Doctrine of Plato *and* Ariſtotle, *and the divers Adventures of their Sects.*

Chap. 1. *The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of* Plato *till the coming of our Saviour.* 123

Chap. 2. *The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of* Ariſtotle *till the coming of our Saviour.* 135

Chap. 3. *The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of* Plato *in the firſt Eight Ages after the coming of our Saviour.* 141

Chap.

Chap. 4. *The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of* Ariſtotle *in the Eight firſt Ages.* 160

Chap. 5. *The Opinions of the learned of theſe Eight laſt Centuries on the Opinions of* Plato. 171

Chap 6. *The Opinions of the learned of theſe Eight laſt Centuries on the Opinions of* Ariſtotle. 178

Chap. the laſt. *Some Chriſtian Reflections on this diſcourſe.* 201

THE

THE COMPARISON OF PLATO with ARISTOTLE.

The First Part.

CHAP. I.

The Proposition of the design.

THis design of making a Comparison between *Plato* and *Aristotle* is so vast and difficult, that many may possibly think me rash to undertake it: For I must be concerned not only to judge between two of the most knowing men of Ancient times; but likewise to decide, whether the several opinions of Authors

which have ſpoke of them, be well or ill founded; and if the ſeveral palats of each Age have reliſhed their Doctrines well or not. So that to which ſide ſoever I lean, I expoſe my ſelf, to form a judgment contrary to that of many great perſonages. Nor do I doubt, but to form this judgment juſt, will require a greater labour then I have propoſed to my ſelf. But when I conſider that whole multitudes of Commentators and Interpreters, have for this two thouſand years been enlarging our Libraries with Volumes on this matter: I am not concerned to believe I can add any thing to what they have writ; and therefore will content my ſelf to expoſe ſimply and without partiality, firſt the merit of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, and whatſoever may regard their perſons; Secondly their Method; In the third place their Doctrine; And in the laſt place the opinions which have been held concerning their works, and the different eſteem their Sects have found in each Age.

Some may ſay, that it is not to apply my ſelf to, or court the humour of the preſent times, to diſcourſe of ancient Philoſophy and Philoſophers, when new things are only in vogue, and every man would be a Philoſopher after his own way; for never were there ſeen more Maximes of Morality, more Methods of Logick, and more Syſtemes of Phyſick; but there are always ſome Spirits enough independant from common preventions, not to be diſguſted at antiquity, but which know the truth,

truth, under what Colour, and in what Circumstance soever it appear.

'Tis not one of the least difficulties in a design of this importance to know how to disintangle the Interests of our Religion, with the Maximes of those two Sects which bore the name of these two great men; and to examine the good or evil use primitive Christians made of the prophane reasonings of Philosophy, and to preserve at the same time the respect due to those fathers of the Church, which made use of them to uphold the principles of our faith. For to succeed well herein, there will be a necessity of a great discernment, and profound knowledge of their Doctrine, which shall oblige me not to enter into this discussion without abundance of Caution, and to such a measure only as I believe necessary to the clearing of my discourse.

The almost impossibility that there is to write any thing pleasant or agreeable upon so dry and barren a subject as Philosophy, may be another difficulty; for men in this age are delicate even to excess. In vain shall an Author strive to make his works acceptable by the importance of the things of which he treats, unless he affect the Reader with something pleasant: Yet I am convinced that I neither can, nor ought to seek for the graces of Language iu a subject so grave, which of it self will yield another pleasure, of which perhaps you will be no less sensible; for it cannot but delight the mind to see how far humane

reaſon can reach, when 'tis only ſupported by its own proper Lights. Certainly no perſon ever carried it ſo high as *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*; yet their ſight appears ſo dim in ſeveral occaſions, that the wanderings into which they are fallen for want of the Lights of Faith, is of it ſelf alone ſufficient to abate the pride of man, and that at leaſt will be the fruit which may be reaped from my works. I hope likewiſe that what I ſhall ſay of the Doctrine of theſe two Philoſophers will not be unprofitable to thoſe which are not too much prepoſſeſſed with the fancy of new opinions: But before I ſhall go about to ſpeak of the perſonal merit of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, it will be convenient to examine the beginnings and progreſs of Philoſophy, and in what eſtate they found it in the world.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the birth of Philoſophy, and its ſtate before Plato *and* Ariſtotle.

THe Philoſophy of which I pretend to ſpeak is not that which at this day makes ſo much noiſe in the world with its diſputes, wherein oftentimes unneceſſary heats are intermixed; that Wiſdom which *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* loved above all things, ſhunned all conteſt, and fixed it ſelf only on truth: The univerſal Principle on which it formed its precepts, was good ſence, which ſerved it for a guide to govern manners and inſtruct the Spirit. It alone ſearched for things in their proper Fountains: It taught Reaſon to ſubmit to certain Rules to ſtrengthen it a ainſt doubt, errour and opinion, to be conſtant to its thoughts, and calm that natural inquietude which inceſſantly turmoils the mind: And in fine it employed it ſelf only to render man happy by diſcovering to him the beginning of things, and making him ſee how they were; ſo that of all Sciences this is the moſt noble, moſt profitable, and moſt uſeful to Mankind.

Fœlix qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas. Virgil *lib.* 1. Georg.

Though that the original of this Philosophy were obscure, and that nothing can certainly be said of it; yet all remain of accord, That the *Greeks* were the first Philosophers of the world: Not but that other Nations which preceded them have had a knowledge of some part of Philosophy, and that according to the Nature or situation of their Countrey; necessity, which is the first Mistress of all Sciences has taught them what was proper for their needs. 'Twas thus that the *Egyptians* began to observe the increase and decrease of the *Nile*, and to make every year a Prognostick of the fruitfulness or sterility of their Lands. And to part with the more facility their Harvest, among those particular persons who had cultivated, they learnt the first Principles of Geomitry. And as this Nation was much addicted to superstition, their Priests took upon them to abuse their weakness, and composed their Religion of a kind of Theology, intangled with divers Mysteries of which their Figures and Hieroglyphicks gave but a gross intelligence.

Per figuras animalium Egyptij *sensus mentis effinxerunt, ut antiquissima memoriæ humanæ monimenta saxis impressa cernuntur* Cor. Tacit

The *Assyrians* who inhabited vast and unclouded Countreys, having nothing to hinder them from contemplating the stars, were the first that observed their motion, and the *Chaldeans*, who were among these people a kind of Philosophers, found from this speculation an art of foretelling

telling things to come. In fine the *Phœnicians*, who were neighbours to the Sea, drew another benefit from the knowledge of the Stars, and addicted themselves to observe those which might be useful to them in Navigation; in which they succeeded so well, that they first found out that there was a fixed point towards the pole, the observation of which might be a guide to Pilots.

Chaldei *cognitione astrorum solertia que ingeniorum antecellunt.* Cic. de divin. lib. 1.

Phœnices *qui mare pr. pollebant, intulisse* Græciæ *memorant quæ ab* Egyptij *acceperc.* Cor. Tacit.

Qua fidunt duce nocturna Phœnices *in alto.* Arat apud Tul.

All these people knew these things only by a simple experience, and had not yet reduced into precepts the knowledges they had acquired. 'Tis said that *Mercurius Tresmegistus*, and *Orpheus* the Philosopher, of which the first was of *Egypt*, and the second of *Thrace*, were the first that began to establish any rule for the Sciences; but *Orpheus* is full of falsities in the opinion of *Origen*, and the pretended work of *Tresmigistus*, is become suspected to the wise men of the latter ages, as a suppositious thing. That which is likewise said of that King of the *Bactrians*, named *Zoroastres*, and of that *Vulcan* the Son of King *Nilus*, of which *Sotion* speaks in *Laertius*, as if they had been more ancient then *Orpheus* and *Tresmigistus*, appears to me so

Laer. lib. 1. cap. 1.

Orig. contr. Celf lib 1.

Laer. lib. 1. cap 1.

fabulous, that I say nothing to it. As for the *Jews* who were without controversy, the chief of wise men, being the chief of all people, they confined themselves to the study of their Religion, without apply themselves to Philosophy. It is true that Holy writ tells us that *Solomon* was a great naturalist, and that he had the perfect knowledge of Plants and Animals; but it does not say that he left any thing in writing of that knowledge.

Solmon *disputavit super lignis a Cedro, quæ est in Libano usq, ad Hyssopum, & disseruit de jumentis, & volucribus, & reptilibus, & piscibus.* cap. 4. lib 3. Reg.

Therefore to speak truth the original of Philosophy ought not to be taken higher then the time of *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, who began to make a publick profession of it. *Thales* was a *Phœnician*, but dwelling in *Miletum* the chief City of *Jania*, was called the *Milesian*; 'tis believed he learnt from the *Egyptians* the Elements of Geometry and Astronomy. *St. Austin* assures us that he took from the works of *Homer* the Principles of his Philosophy. He was the first that observed the Solstices, and the Equinoxes, and who discovered to the *Phœnicians* the course of the little bear about the Pole. He taught that water was the principle of all things, and that humidity was the universal cause of Generation; he was called the first

Solis accessum, dissesum brumis solstitijsq; fier idocuit. Lib. de nat. Deor.

Thales *ex aqua dixit constare omnia.* Cic. in Lucul.

first wise man of the *Grecians*. The others to whom the people gave soon after the name of wise men, left some reflections upon Morality, of which *Laertius* made a small Collection. *Pherecydes* who was a *Syrian*, writ first of the universal *Principium* of Nature. *Pythagoras* was his Disciple, and *Thales* enjoy'd his Writings, which *Pherecydes* dying sent him.

Anaximander who studied under *Thales*, enriched with new observations, those which his Master had already made, he distinguished the four Elements; he placed the Earth in the Center, and by the Scituation he gave them, was the first who erected a kind of Systeme of the World: His knowledge extended likewise to know the bigness of the Sun, and of the Moon, and to measure the just distance between the Earth and those two Luminaries; so that by this distinct knowledge of the Nature of things which he first taught, he merited among the *Greeks*, the Title of the Founder of Philosophy. *Pythagoras* acquired the same glory in *Italy*; but it may be said, that in this first Age which passed between *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and which was truly the age of the Birth of Philosophy, this Science made greater progress in *Italy* then in *Greece*, because the *Pythagoreans* pierced much farther into the Reasons of Natural things, their Method, or rather the quality of their spirits being possibly more proper for it.

Laer. l. b. 2. Theon Smyr. in hist. Astr.

Pytha-

Pythagoras was of *Samos*, he began his ſtudies under a Grammarian called *Hermodamas*; this Maſter inſpired into him a very great paſſion to advance in the Sciences: But becauſe *Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samos* that then reigned, perſecuted knowing men. *Pythagoras* was conſtrained to abandon his Countrey, and after having ſtayed ſome time in *Lesbos*, where he ſtudied under *Pherecides*, he came to live in *Italy*, in the City of *Crotona* near *Tarentum*; where his ſojourning pleaſed him ſo well, that after his return from *Egypt*, he ſettled there for the reſt of his life: He had a great wit, a venerable air, and his gravity won him reſpect; and by reaſon of a natural auſterity in him, it was no hard matter for him to perſwade his Diſciples to frugality, which he recomended to them above all things. He had gain'd ſuch authority over their ſpirits, that they thought his advice a rule which they ought to beleive, and when he had decided any thing, there was no more diſpute of it. So that his reputation ſoon paſſed from *Crotona* to *Tarentum*, and from *Tarentum* to *Lucania*, and *Etruria*, and came to *Rome* it ſelf, about the time that the firſt *Tarquine* reigned.

Ex Laer. lib. 8 cic. v. Tuſc. Apul. 1 Flor. Gellius lib 1. cap. 9. Porphyr. in vit. Pyth.

He

He had learnt from *PHERECIDES* and the *Ægyptians*, that the Soul was Immortal; but as the firſt knowledge was but confus'd, he had much trouble to conceive how it could ſubſiſt, being quite ſeparated from the body after death: So that he choſe rather to believe that it paſſed into the body of other Animals, then to imagine that it could have a Being in an eſtate quite ſeparated from the matter. This reaſon joyn'd to ſome others, made him take part to eſtabliſh the opinion of the *Metempſychoſis*, and to hinder the killing of Animals for food, and the bloudying of Altars with their Sacrifices; he had great converſe with the Jews in thoſe Voyages he made into *Egypt*. *Joſephus* aſſures us, that he had a *Nazareen* Jew for his Maſter. *Theodoret* ſays that he was circumciſed; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, that he paſſed in the opinion of many knowing men of his time for the Prophe *Ezekiel*, but without any ground. It is true, that he had had ſome communication with the Book of *Geneſis*, and had read other books of *Moſes*; and it was doubtleſs from that reading that he took the *Idea* of thoſe ſymbolical and figurative expreſſions of his Philoſophy, of which he made uſe to render it more recommendable. For he was perſwaded

Pherecides *primum dixit, Animos hominum eſſe ſempiternos.* Cic. 1 Tuſ.

Joſep. cont. Appion. Theod lib. de fid. Clem. Alex. ſtrom. lib. 31. Corn. a lap in præfat. in Ezech.

ſwaded according to the opinion of the *Egyptians*, that it was to profane the truth, to expoſe naked to the eyes of the people. Numbers were the ordinary Symbols of which he made uſe to teach his opinions; and that myſterious ſignification which he gave them, made his Doctrine appear more profound then indeed it was. He made Numbers ſo much concerned in all he thought, and all he ſaid: So that he eſtabliſhed for the fundamental Maxime of his Philoſophy, That Unity was the principal of the generation of all things; and that Plurality was the corruption. He held likewiſe, That man was not formed, but by the agreement and conſort of certain Numbers; That his Virtue and his Health were but an all-pure Harmony; And that his Diſeaſes might be cured by the conformity of certain Sounds with the acceſs of the Diſtemper. In fine, he had his ſpirit ſo replear with this imagination of Numbers, and Harmony, that he invented Notes, and a certain meaſure of Muſick from the blows of a hammer ſtruck by an Artizan, by one of his neighbours, on the Anvil; and there is nothing more famous in all ancient Philoſophy, then that harmony which *Pythagoras* imagined in the Heavens to govern their Courſe.

His Diſciples were not admitted to ſpeak of theſe Myſteries, till after five years of continual ſilence. He taught firſt the Principles of Phyſick, which is the true Natural Philoſophy. He

diſ-

diſcovered the qualities of each Element, the figure of their bodies, the roundneſs of the Earth, and the *Antipodes*; He diſtinguiſhed the Seaſons, obſerved the different courſe the Sun makes daily and yearly; and by what mean the Moon draws her light from the Sun. But this wiſe man was ſo confounded with the meditation of theſe new knowledges, that he left nothing in writing, which yet was no hinderance to his School, which became the moſt flouriſhing of the world both before and after his death. The moſt famous of his Schollars were *Ocellus* of *Lucania*, *Timæus* of *Locris*, *Archytas* of *Tarentum*, *Philolaus* of *Crotona*, *Parmenides* and *Zenon*, both of *Eleates*, and *Melliſſus* of *Samos*. Theſe knowing Perſonages laboured to put in order and writing the Precepts of their Maſter, of which they compoſed a Body of Philoſophy.

'Tis true, that *Anaximines*, *Anaxagoras*, *Xenophanes*, *Heraclytus*, *Archelaus*, and *Democritus*, who ſucceeded *Anaximander* in *Greece*, applied themſelves very diligently to ſtudy Nature. *Anaxagoras* taught, that the firſt Principle of all things was a matter uncreated. *Anaximines* believ'd it to be the Air, becauſe the firſt Principle ought to be ſimple and pure. *Heraclitus* maintain'd it was th Fire. And *Democritus* would have it be the Atomes. So the Philoſophers of theſe two Sects which were the firſt of the world,

world, addicted themselves each to the study of what was most wonderful in Nature; in which as I have before observed, the Sect of *Pythagoras* made greater progress then that of *Thales* and *Anaximander*; for *Ocellus*, *Archytas*, and *Zenon* form'd Principles of Logick. *Zenon* composed three Books, in which he distinguished the Operations of the Spirit. *Archytas* disposed the Order of the Categories. *Ocellus* invented the method of definitions. *Timæus*, *Parmenides*, *Philolaus*, and *Melissus*, apply'd themselves to Physick, of which they formed the Principles.

But after all, *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, and their Disciples onely employ'd themselves in the knowledge of Natural things: Their study was bounded in observing the Course of the Stars, the qualities of the Elements, and the Rules of Logick, and Geometry, Musick, and Medicine; and though they had composed a kind of Religion for the honouring of the Gods, they had not yet given any precepts for the Regulation of manners. That glory was reserved for *Socrates*. That part of Philosophy the most important of all was not known before that excellent Philosopher; but it is good to observe by what degrees he arrived to it, and by what means he merited that great reputation, as to have given him by the Oracle the name of *the wisest of men*.

Socra-

Socrates was born in a Village of *Attica*, of Parents little considerable; He had a *Genius* proper to all Sciences, and succeeded wonderfully, but especially to Eloquence: For there was no case so unjust or bad, to which he would not give a fair gloss, and make it seem to be good; which obliged the Governours of the Commonwealth to forbid him to teach Rhetorick. He excelled no less in Poetry; for as it is thought that *Lelius* and *Scipio* had part in the Comedies of *Terence*, so is it believed that *Socrates* had his in the Tragedies of *Euripides*. The Custom of the Philosophers of his time was to travel to learn in divers Countreys what they could not acquire in one alone: But *Socrates* loved Repose and Meditation; and he believed that Travels spent a great deal of time which might be better employed at home. Nevertheless, out of complement to his Master *Archelaus*, he went to *Samos* to accompany him, and from thence as far as *Delphos* to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*.

Ex Aristoph. Plat. Xenoph. Cic Ælian Laer. Gell. & aliis, a quo omnis quæ est de vita & moribus Philosophiæ manavit. 3 Tuscul.

Ἐδόκει συμποιεῖν εὐριπίδη. *Laer. l. 2. de Socrat.*

He never propos'd his opinions but as doubts, but he clear'd them by comparisons so familiar, that as he made out (as one may say) the sensible truth, so he left to every one the pleasure of conviction, not seeming himself to think of it.

For

For these reasons he could never endure the Doctrine of *Heraclitus*; he said that Philosopher decided too much, and that his manner of teaching was dry, obscure, and unpleasant. *Socrates* had a method quite contrary; he never disputed, nor ever denied, or agreed to any thing openly; and in this incertainty he shewed ever more submission and docility, covering his force under an appearance of simplicity, and taking pleasure to conceal his own, to make appear the parts of others. When he saw any one obstinate in his errour, he presently took his part, discoursed his reasons, to make him the more readily listen to his own, and suffer himself to be perswaded. Though he were the wisest man of his age, he fear'd nothing more then to pass for a Wise man. *Plutarch* says, that he made profession of knowing nothing, and affected sometimes a studied ignorance; so making shew of a desire to be instructed, he insensibly ingaged those that heard him, to let themselves be instructed. But better to speak him, he began ordinarily his Entertainments with flattering Discourses, and by windings of affected questions, still demanding others advice before speaking his own; and when once he had obliged those with whom he discoursed to tell their

Plut. in Apolog. Socrat.

Socrates percontando interrogandoque elicere solebat eorum opiniones quibuscum disserebat. Cic. de finib.

Opinions,

Opinions, he drew thence conſequences to his own advantage; he brought them by little and little from one abſurdity to another, till they themſelves perceived they were aſtray; and then he let them ſee the path that they ſhould walk in, following which they might find truth.

His Converſation was always very pleaſant; for he had a wonderful art of putting vizards upon things, and divertiſing people with their own reproof; in which the Irony which was ſo familiar and natural to him, ſtood him in excellent ſtead, eſpecially againſt the Sophiſts, whom he loved to render ridiculous; for they were a ſort of people, as himſelf uſed to ſay, of a depraved pallate in all things. The ignorance he affected with them, was a mark of the ſcorn he put upon them; for when he treated with reaſonable men, he changed his manner of converſe; he transform d himſelf as it were into their humour, to enter better into their conceptions. This is that in which conſiſted his greateſt ability; ſo that he always perſwaded, becauſe he always pleaſed.

Rhetorum omnium agitator Socrates. Cic. orat.

To this delicacy of ſpirit which was particular to him he had joyned the ſublimeſt virtues: A valour extraordinary, a conſtancy of ſoul to uphold his advice, when he knew it profitable to the publick; an honeſty which nothing could corrupt; a diſintereſted ſpirit, which made him

refuſe the Preſents of the greateſt Lords; a frugality, a moderation, a patience, an eqnality of mind, and above all, an indifference for death, which never had example: For he treated thoſe which condemned him, as if he had been their Judge, and ſet to determine of their lives and fortune. The curioſity of natural things which had ſo much buſied the other Philoſophers, was not that which moſt affected him; His chief application was to teach men how to live well; of which he made a particular profeſſion, even to the laſt moment of his life, as well by his Example as Doctrine. 'Tis true, he had calumnies thrown upon him in *Athens*; and *Ariſtophanes* ſcandalouſly repreſented him on the Theatre; but the corruption of the time, and the humour of the people, which could not ſuffer ſo clear a merit without cenſuring, had ſo much licenſed it, that the ſevereſt virtue was no ward againſt ill tongues; at leaſt *Socrates* as pure as his was, could not ſecure himſelf. It was under ſuch a Maſter as this that *Plato* ſtudied Philoſophy, and perfected himſelf in thoſe Precepts of Morality, with which *Socrates* had enriched him; and in this eſtate or thereabout ſtood Philoſophy, when *Plato* began to ſtudy, and *Ariſtotle* was born into the world.

Socrates *in judicio capitis pro ſeipſo dixit, ut non ſupplex & reus, ſed magiſter & dominus videretur, eſſe judicium.* Cic. 1. de orat.

Spiritum contempſit ne careret gravitate. Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 4.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Person of PLATO.

NEver was person born more happily for Learning then *Plato*: he was of *Athens* the most knowing City that ever was, and was born in a time wherein all the Sciences flourished more then ever they had done; He had an infinite capacity, and was likewise of great quality: For of his Fathers side he might reckon Kings among his Ancestors; and by his Mothers side he came from *Solon*, from whom it was more glorious to descend, then from a long Succession of Kings. 'Tis said, that his Mother conceived him by the force of imagination, looking on the Statue of *Apollo*; which gave the occasion to believe that he was his Son, because he resembled that Statue. *Lactantius Apulius*, and St. *Jerom* against *Jovinian* speak of this opinion, which *Origen* takes for a Fable in his first book against *Celsus*. But the *Greeks*, who love to meddle in all things, content themselves not with that; for if one will believe them, a Swarm of Bees did one day light on the

Platonem *augustiore conceptu profatum dicunt, cum quædam Apollinis figuratio matri se miscuisset.* Apol. lib. 1. de d. & Plat.

Cradle of *Plato*, and diſtill'd their Honey on his Lips: From whence they drew a certain Preſage, that he would be one of the moſt eloquent men of that age; as if it were an ordinary thing among them, that the birth of great perſons muſt be made obſervable by ſome miraculous circumſtance.

However it were *Plato* was brought up with great care in all thoſe Exercıſes uſually taught to perſons of quality: He learnt Grammer, the Mathematicks, Muſick, and Painting. In his youthful years he had a great *Genius*, and paſſion for Poetry, compoſing ſeveral Odes and Tragedies which were very much eſteemed. In the compoſition of his Odes, and thoſe *Dythyrambicks* he made in the honour of *Bacchus*, he got ſuch a habit of that cadence, that all his Works are full of it. *Elian* ſays, that he made likewiſe Heroick Verſes; but finding their force not to equal thoſe of *Homer*, he burnt them. In ſhort, he paſſed to about the twentieth year of his age in theſe ſort of Studies. 'Twas then he began to apply himſelf with great aſſiduity to hearken to *Socrates*. That Maſter then ſo famous had a particular talent to form great men: *Criton*, *Ariſtippus*, *Cebes*, *Xenophon*, *Simias*, *Euclide* of *Megara* were then all his Schollars; but having obſerved in *Plato* greater natural Endowments, and a quicker *Genius*, then in the others, he more particularly affected him, he then counſelled him to read *Homer* often: And it was from that

Leſſon

Leſſon that *Plato* formed himſelf to conceive and ſpeak things in a lofty, abundant, and agreeable manner: For 'twas then a received Maxime among men of Learning, that a man could not acquire knowledge without reading *Homer*, nor read him without acquiring it.

Socrates being accuſed by the practices of *Anitus* and *Melitus* his Enemies, and made priſoner, *Plato* rais'd a conſiderable Sum of Silver to compound for his liberty with his Judges and his Accuſers; but the Cabal being too ſtrong, and their ſpirits too much envenomed to accomodate the buſineſs; not ſeeing any other way to ſave him, he had the boldneſs to mount on the Tribunal for Orations to juſtifie the innocence and conduct of *Socrates* before the people. The beginning of his diſcourſe had ſo much moved the Auditors, that the Magiſtrates fearing ſome tumult, impoſed him ſilence, to ſatisfie their paſſion, who ſought *Socrates* his deſtruction; which they did without much trouble, under ſuch a Government as was that of the Thirty Tyrants, who had then made themſelves Maſters of the Commonwealth, and were ſoon after expulſed by *Thraſibulus*.

The Philoſophers which were then at *Athens*, were ſo affrighted at the death of *Socrates*, that they almoſt all departed the City to avoid the injuſtice and cruelty of thoſe which reigned; *Plato* retired to *Megara*, a City of *Achaia*, to continue the ſtudy of Philoſophy under *Euclide*,

who was of that City, and one of the principal Schollars of *Socrates*: From *Megara* he went to *Cyrene*, to be instructed by a great Mathematician named *Theodorus*, with whom he perfected himself in the knowledge of that Science.

But as nothing was capable fully to satisfie that passion possest him to be knowing in all things, he made a Voyage into *Italy*, to have Conference with *Eurytus*, *Philolaus*, and the second *Archytas*, who were then most famous among the followers of *Pythagoras*, whose Doctrine was now become renowned in *Greece*; and having attained the most concealed Secrets of the *Pythagorean* Philosophy, he went into *Egypt* to learn the Theology of the Priests and Sacrificers. *Euripides* who accompanied him in this Voyage, fell sick in *Egypt*, which obliged *Plato* to sojourn there a long time; and gave him leasure to learn all the Religion of the *Egyptians*, with their Mysteries. He had likewise some Communication with the Books of *Moses* by means of the *Jews*, whose number was much multiplied in *Egypt* since the Captivity. *Clemens Alexandrinus* assures us, that he studied under a learned man of *Helopolis*, called *Seebnuphes*, who was a *Jew*. And St. *Austin* once believed, that *Plato* had some con-

Ariſt. de Plat. apud Euſeb. lib. 1. Strom.

Nonnulli putarunt Platonem quando perrexit in Ægyptum Jeremiam audiviſſe. Aug. l. 8. de civ. Dei. Aug. l. 8. de d. Christ. Id. l. 8. de civ. Dei.

ference

ference with the Prophet *Jeremy* in his Voyage to *Ægypt*; but after having made a more exact computation of time, he found that that Prophet was dead above ſixty years before *Plato* went to *Ægypt*.

This Philoſopher having learned from the *Ægyptians* their ſecret Myſteries, had the curioſity to travel into *Perſia* to conſult with the *Magi* about the Religion of their Countrey; his deſign was to go even to the *Indies*, to ſee the *Brachmanes*, and learn their Manners and Cuſtoms; but the Wars of *Aſia* hindred him, and that of *Peloponeſus*, which already divided all *Greece*, obliged his return to *Athens*. He had now no more honourable Profeſſion among the *Athenians*, then the teaching of Philoſophy, which *Plato* embraced ſo ſoon as he arrived, and in a ſhort time drew many followers after him. He ſettled his School at the Academy which was without the City, and that place gave afterwards the Name to his Sect. *Iſocrates* was one of the firſt which put *Plato* in reputation; they had contracted a great friendſhip together. *Laertius* ſpeaks of a Communication theſe two great men had together in a Countrey-houſe concerning Poetry: But this diſcourſe ha's not reach'd our times.

The Prodigies that happened in *Sicily* about the Conflagration of *Ætna*, did ſo much aſtoniſh all the Philoſophers of *Athens*, that *Plato* left his School to ſatisfie his curioſity in ſo extraordinary

traordinary a matter; he went therefore into that Island to observe as near as he could the Principle Concave of that prodigious fire, which sometimes broke forth with dreadful violence. *Dyonisius*, surnamed the Tyrant, raigned then in *Syracuse*, who was a very wicked man, *Cicero* gives enough of him in one word, when having rob'd a Temple out of his own Counttey, and being returned by Sea to *Sicily*, with a prosperous gale, *You see* (said he) *my friends, how much the Gods favour Satriledge.* *Plato* went to see him. and instead of flattering him, as did his other Conrtiers, he reproved him for the disorders of his Court, with such authority, that the Tyrant was surprized, and not being accustomed to hear displeasing truths, grew angry with *Plato*, and would have put him to death; but *Dion* and *Aristomenes* then favourites of that Prince, and who had formerly been *Plato*'s Schollers, interceded with him in favour of the Philosopher, and saved his life. *Dyonisius* was content to put him into the hand of an Envoy of the *Lacedemonians*, who had then War with the *Athenians*: And who touching at *Ægina*, sold him for a Slave to a Merchant of *Cyrene*, and he as soon as he had bought him, sent him to *Athens*.

Cum fanum Lovis, expillasset, navigabat Syracusas, cumque secundissimum cursum teneret, videtis inquit amici quam bona adijs immortalibus navigatio detur Sacrilegis. lib. 3. de nat. Deor.

Some-

Some time after he made a second Voyage into *Sicily*, in the Reign of young *Dionisius*, who sent *Dion* his Minister and favourite, to intreat him to come to his Court, and teach him the art of governing his people well: *Plato* went with a design to inspire into this Prince conditions less cruel then those of his father, and to bring him to the practice of that form of government, which he had contrived, and of which he has left us the Principle Maximes in his Books of the Common-wealth: But the great friendship *Dion* had with this Philosopher, gave some jealousy to the Tyrant. *Dion* was disgraced, and *Plato* remanded to *Athens*. *Dion* beeing afterwards returned into the good grace and favour of his Master, counselled him to recall *Plato*; *Dionisius* received him with all the marks of good will and friendship that a Prince could give; he sent a Galley rigged in an extraordinary manner to meet him, and went himself in a magnificent Chariot, accompanied with all his Court to receive him; but his suspicious humour, and the disorders of his mind, made him fall into his former mistrusts. *Plato* was offended at it, and complained; : *Dyonisius* offended at these complaints, resolved his death; but *Archytas* who was very powerful with the Tyrant, being advertised of it by *Dion*, beg'd pardon for the Philosopher, which the Tyrant

Platoni *Sapientiæ antistiti*, Dionisius *Tyrannus vitiatam navem misit obviam ipse quadrigis albis ingredientem excepit* Plin. lib. 7. c. 10.

rant granted, and *Plato* had permission to retire.

Ælian lib. 3. Hist. var.

Dionem, Plato *non linguæ solum, verum etiam, animi & virtutis magister ad libertandam patriam impulit.* Cic. lib. 3. de Orat.

ÆLIAN would make us believe that *Plato* taught *Dion* the secret to dispatch the Tyrant, and deliver the people from oppression. *Cicero* is of the same opinion; I know not upon what authority founded; I find very little of appearance in it from the manner of the Composition of *Plato*'s mind, which had nothing in it of violence: However it were the people of *Athens* received him at his return with an universal joy, they would have given him part in the Government; but he refused that honour, that he might busie himself with the greater ease and quiet, in the contemplation of natural things, and the study of Philosophy, he divided all his Estate among his Brothers, leaving only to himself a little Countrey house, with a small Garden, that there he might pass away the rest of his days with freedom; and liberty was indeed so dear to him, that he could never resolve to marry: In short, he ever after lead a life very quiet and very happy, because 'twas innocent and exempt from ambition; being young he had bore Arms in the Forces of the Commonwealth, at *Tenaros*, at *Corinth*, and in the Isle of *Delos*, and the remainder of his days he spent in the study of Philosophy, he was much inclined

ned to the opinions of *Heraclitus* in points of Physick, to those of *Pythagoras* in Intellectuals, and he followed *Socrates* in the Morals.

He lived quietly, and without contention among the other Philosophers, a thing rare in those days; for envy reigned much amongst them, and every one endeavoured to establish his faction: He likewise sometimes fed *Diogenes* the *Cynique*, who was a Rascall of a Philosopher, rather then a true wise man; he quarrel'd even at nothing to appear independent, and took pleasure in censuring and railing at all the world, not sparing *Plato*, though he continually treated him civilly. One time having invited him to Supper, with certain *Sicilians*, his friends, he had caused the Parlor where they were to eat to be hung, and adorned very neatly: *Diogenes* who could not suffer this neatness of *Plato*'s, began to dirty with his feet the Tapistry, and other moveables, adding brutishly. *I trample under my feet the pride of* Plato; to which *Plato* wisely replied. *'Tis true* Diogenes, *but you trample on it with a greater pride.*

Though *Plato* had a Character of mind proper for higher things, yet he forbore not to affect raillery; but he made use of it like a person of quality, to make converse more easie and delightful, and not to offend any one. His Dialogues are full of those pleasant hits, which make appear the difference between a man, who has only wit, and him, who besides his natural ac-

com-

compliſhments, has likewiſe had the benefit o education: For this Reaſon it was, that *Plato* often recommended it to his Schollers, and eſpe ciall to *Dion* and *Xenocrates*, to ſacrifice to th Graces, and it might very well be ſaid that h had ſacrificed to them himſelf, while it wa impoſſible to hear him, and not believe him, or ſe him, and not love him. There are certain frag ments of Epigrams in *Apuleius*, and in the Anthology, which have ſome agreement with the delicacy of his ſpirit, however *Marcilius Ficinus* ſayes, tha thoſe Verſes are too ſoft to be *Plato*'s, and that they agree not at all with the gravity of tha great man; he aſſures us likewiſe that *Ariſtippus* had feigned them to blemiſh the virtue of *Plato*. *Dicearchus*, *Athenæus*, *Aulugella*, ſeem all to favour that ſuppoſition: but if there be any of thoſe Epigrams, which may with good warrant be attributed to him, it is without doubt that, of which antiquity did did ſo much boaſt, upon a young man which *Plato* loved, at leaſt *Apuleius*, *Taſſo*, and and ſome other modern Authors have tranſlated them, believing them to be *Plato*'s, and its having received ſo univerſal an approbation, is in my mind a great ground for the opinion: For his amours with that *Colophonian*, of which *Laertius* and *Athenæus* ſpeak, and of which the Epigram, and the Anthology make mention, there may be ſomething in it, though St. *Auſtin* would not believe

Nos injuria Dicæarchus accuſat, qui auctore noſtro Platone amori auctoritatem tribuerimus 4. Tuſc.

believe it, but there are weakneſſes, of which Pagan Philoſophy had not the power to cure men.

Apuleius tells us, That the Doctrine of *Plato*, gave even to women, who had any curious ſpirits, a deſire to ſtudy it. *Themiſtius* aſſures us, That a ſtranger Lady having read ſome Books of his Common-wealth, diſguiſed her ſelf in the habit of a man, and coming to *Athens* ſtudied ſometime in that manner under *Plato*, without being known. *Laertius* and St. *Clemens Alexandrinus* name other women that did the ſame, which gave occaſion to ſeveral ſcandals, from which all the wiſdom, and all the gravity of *Plato* could not ſecure him. It was difficult to keep ſuch things cloſe in ſo corrupt a City as *Athens*, where the general divertiſement was to pry into each others behaviour, and cenſure it. In the mean time we ought not to give too much credit to *Ariſtippus*, or to *Antiſthenes*, of whom *Athenæus* ſpeaks, nor to *Athenæus* himſelf, no more then to *Apuleius*, *George* of *Trebiſond*, and ſome others; In what concerns a judgment to be made of the conduct of *Plato*. Their Teſtimonies ought to be ſuſpected, becauſe of their prepoſſeſſion againſt Philoſophy, which they make ſufficiently appear. *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, *Valerius Maximus* and *Photius*, report ſo many examples of his moderation in all things, that the worſt

Multi auditorum utriuſq; ſexus in ejus Philoſophia ſtaruerunt Apul.

that

that can be found in all his conduct, is o[illegible] some slight suspitions of things contrary to vir[illegible] The discourse which he makes in the *Phai[illegible]* against *Lycias*, is one Testimony: In short [illegible] may say, that he was so far above envy and sca[illegible]dal, that he did despise all that wicked Tongu[illegible] could invent against him, nor did he ever talk[illegible] of any one, which was a virtue very rare amo[illegible] the Philosophers of his Age.

'Tis true, there was some coldness betwee[illegible] *Xenophon* and him, though they had both bee[illegible] the favourite Scholers of *Socrate*[illegible] *Aulugella* reports, That *Xenoph*[illegible] having read the two first books o[illegible] the Common-wealth of *Plato*, being touch[illegible] with some emulation for the success they had ha[illegible] in the world, writ that curious piece, *Of the institution of* Cyrus, with design to oppose to tha[illegible] Idea of a Common-wealth, which *Plato* would establish the example of a Monarchy, the government of which had something in it more great and more perfect. *Plato* answers to this work only two words, which we find in the third book of his his Laws: *That in truth* Cyrus *had been a great Captain, but that he was so little capable of giving Rules for the Government of an Empire, that he knew not how to manage his private affairs, nor govern his houshold.* *Cicero* in the Epistle which he writes to his Brother, concerning

Aulug. lib. 14. cap. 3.

Παιδείας δ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἥφθαι τὸ παράπαν. Ex Gel. loc. Cic. sumpt. ex Athen.

cerning his conduct in the government of his Province, says, That the Institution of *Cyrus* is only a fair Picture of what ought to be done in the education of a Prince, and the Image of a perfect government; but in that which concerns the History of *Cyrus* there is no foundation of truth, and *Hermogenes* in his Characters takes for a fable the adventure of *Abradates* and *Panthæa*, which is one of the greatest Ornaments of that work.

Cyrus a Xenophonte *non ad Historiæ fidem scriptus sed ad effigiem justi imperij.* Ad Quint. Frat. Ep. 1. Hermog. lib. 2. de pr. Orat.

It is indeed somewhat strange, that two so great men as *Xenophon* and *Plato*, who had studied under the same master, and treated of the same subjects, and almost in the same manner, should be so reserved in speaking to one another, and 'tis that which has made me of opinion, That they did not love one another; those wise men which came after them have been of the same judgment. *Aulugella* says, That they even avoided naming one another in their works; however it is most certain, they did speak one of the other: For *Xenophon* speaks of *Plato* in the third Book of his *Memoires*; And *Plato* speaks of *Xenophon* in the third Book of his *Laws* That small esteem which *Plato* had for *Aristippus* was better grounded; for *Aristippus* had false virtues, and was vain to the blazing

Athen. lib. 11. Aul. 9. lib. 14. cap. 3.

that can be found in all his conduct, is o[illegible] some slight suspitions of things contrary to vir[illegible] The discourse which he makes in the *Phae*[illegible] against *Lycias*, is one Testimony: In short [illegible] may say, that he was so far above envy and sca[illegible]dal, that he did despise all that wicked Tong[illegible] could invent against him, nor did he ever talk[illegible] of any one, which was a virtue very rare amo[illegible] the Philosophers of his Age.

'Tis true, there was some coldness betwe[illegible] *Xenophon* and him, though they had both bee[illegible] the favourite Scholers of *Socrate*[illegible] *Aulugella* reports, That *Xenoph*[illegible] having read the two first books o[illegible] the Common-wealth of *Plato*, being touch[illegible] with some emulation for the success they had ha[illegible] in the world, writ that curious piece, *Of the institution of* Cyrus, with design to oppose to that Idea of a Common-wealth, which *Plato* would establish the example of a Monarchy, the government of which had something in it more great and more perfect. *Plato* answers to this work only two words, which we find in the third book of his his Laws: *That in truth* Cyrus *had been a great Captain, but that he was so little capable of giving Rules for the Government of an Empire, that he knew not how to manage his private affairs, nor govern his houshold.* *Cicero* in the Epistle which he writes to his Brother, concerning

Aulug. lib. 14. cap. 3.

Παιδείας δ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἥφθαι τὸ παράπαν. Ex Gel. loc. Cic. sumpt. ex Athen.

cerning his conduct in the government of his Province, says, That the Institution of *Cyrus* is only a fair Picture of what ought to be done in the education of a Prince, and the Image of a perfect government; but in that which concerns the History of *Cyrus* there is no foundation of truth, and *Hermogenes* in his Characters takes for a fable the adventure of *Abradates* and *Panthæa*, which is one of the greatest Ornaments of that work.

Cyrus a Xenophonte *non ad Historiæ fidem scriptus sed ad effigiem justi imperij.* Ad Quin. Frat. Ep. 1. Hermog. lib. 2. de pr. Orat.

It is indeed somewhat strange, that two so great men as *Xenophon* and *Plato*, who had studied under the same master, and treated of the same subjects, and almost in the same manner, should be so reserved in speaking to one another, and 'tis that which has made me of opinion, That they did not love one another; those wise men which came after them have been of the same judgment. *Aulugella* says, That they even avoided naming one another in their works; however it is most certain, they did speak one of the other: For *Xenophon* speaks of *Plato* in the third Book of his *Memoires*; And *Plato* speaks of *Xenophon* in the third Book of his *Laws* That small esteem which *Plato* had for *Aristippus* was better grounded; for *Aristippus* had false virtues, and was vain to the blazing

Athen. lib. 11. Aul. 9. lib. 14. cap. 3.

blazing of his vices: So that *Plato* did with mo trouble behold the pride and vanity of th Philosopher, then all the brutishness o *Diogenes*, he would make pleasant scoffes at th different manners of these two men; but th scorn he had for them troubled not his quiet, h virtue was to solid too be shaken with so slight thing, and that which made it more firm was i being supported by sincere thoughts of Religio for he every day gave thanks to the Gods that h had had *Socrates* to his Master, and that the had made him a man; which he accounted amon the number of those graces he had received fro heaven, being perswaded of the *Metempsy chosis*.

In fine, being arrived to fourscore and on years of Age, he died of a sweet and peaceabl death in the midst of a Banquet he had made fo his friends on his birth day. Both the Life and deat of this Philosopher were very smooth and quiet; besides the advantage of his birth, he had a grea wit, naturally sweet and easie, and an immens capacity, he was honoured in his own Countrey, esteem'd by strangers, and ador'd by his Scholers The love he had for study was his Sovereign de light, and he enjoyed that pleasure to the last day of his life; but his study had nothing in it o those Melancholly and Sower Meditations, which sully the Soul and turn man into a Salvage On the contrary he believed, That the best fruit o Knowledge was the pleasing those he would in-

struct,

ſtruct; and that it was better to know how to live, then to know how to diſcourſe: The ſweetneſs of his Nature begot love to him from all that knew him, and his Knowledge begot an admiration in all poſterity. He was ſo univerſally eſteem'd, that going one day from *Syracuſe* to the place where they celebrated the *Olympian* Games, which was the General Aſſembly of all *Greece*, as ſoon as he appear'd, they all quitted their Sports and other Spectacles, to run and behold him. He was valued by all great Perſons during his Life, and after his death he had Kings and Commonwealths, which erected him Statues and Altars. All theſe Qualities acquired him the Sirname of *Divine*, and his Memory is become venerable in all ages; Such was the Merit and Glory of *Plato*, let us now ſpeak of *Ariſtotle*.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Perſon of Ariſtotle.

HE was born at *Stagira*, a ſmall City of *Macedon*, His Father was called *Nicomachus*, and had been Phyſician to King *Amyntas*, Grandfather to *Alexander*. 'Twas pretended that *Nicomachus* derived his Pedigree

from *Æsculapius* the Son of *Apollo*. *Aristotle* lost both his Father and his Mother in his Infancy. *Proxenes* a Friend of his Father's, took care of his Education; he brought him up out of *Athens*, and he brought him up ill; for having begun to study Grammar, and afterwards Poesie, he left those Studies to follow Libertinisme, and for some time abus'd the indulgence of his Tutour: Yet he arrived to a knowledge in Poesie; witness that Poem he composed of those Warriours slain at the Siege of *Troy*, of which *Eustathius* and *Porphyrius* make mention. Having wasted by his Debauches a good part of that Estate his Father had left him, he Listed himself in the Army of the Commonwealth, in the time that *Lysistratus* was *Prætor*; but not finding that Profession to his liking, he went to *Delphos* to consult the Oracle what course he were best to take; the Oracle commanded him to go to *Athens*, and apply himself to Philosophy.

Æli. lib. 5. cap. 9. Athen lib. 8. Euseb lib. 15. de præp. Evang.

He was now about the Seventeenth Year of his Age; *Olympiodorus* says, that he began to study this Science under *Socrates Ammonius*, and the Cardinal *Bessarcon* are of this opinion; *Laertius* is not: But if we consult *Eusebius*, we shall find, that *Socrates* dyed the Third Year of the Eighty fifth Olympiade; and that *Aristotle* was born in the Ninety ninth, which agrees with the

the account of *Apollodorus*, and *Dionysius Licarnassus*.

'Tis therefore more probable, that *Aristotle* began to study under *Plato*, in the Seventeenth year of his age, and that he finished not his Studies till about the Thirty seventh year: But because he had spent his Estate, he was constrained for some time to subsist on a little Traffick of some Sweet powders, and Medicines which he sold at *Athens*. It is true, that he studied with such an extraordinary diligence, that though he found the School of *Plato* fill'd with many excellent Spirits, he by his assiduity did in a short time surpass those who surpassed all others. He was indefatigable in his Labour and his Master was surprized with the eagerness wherewith he run through all he could find written of Philosophy, and then in any reputation; *Plato* called him the Soul of his School; and when any indisposition or business kept *Aristotle* away, they would say, that Philosophy in truth was not there; and would decide nothing without his advice.

Aristot. Messen ex Epist. Epicur.
Ælian ex lib. 5. c 9.
Athen ex lib 8

His passion for Learning increased daily: *Laertius* observes, that he eat little, and slept less; and that to resist the drowsiness of sleep, he stretcht one hand out of bed, in which he held a Ball of brass, which with the noise it made falling into a bason, still wak'd him. *Ammanus*

Alexander æneâ concha ſuppoſita brachio extra cubile protento, pilam tenebat argenteam ut cum nervorum vigor emſo pore laxaſſet, infuſus tinnitus ſomnum abrumperet. Amm. Marcel. lib. 16. Ammon in ejus vita.

Marcellinus tells us, that *Alexander* the Great practiſed the like. But as it is ordinary for profound ſpirits to keep retired within themſelves, given over to ſolitary Meditation without breaking forth; So the Reputation of *Ariſtotle* made little noiſe in the world, during the Twenty years that he was *Plato*'s Scholar. For he had no converſe with any perſon, and abſtained from all ſort of divertiſement, that he might not ſteal one moment from his Studies. *Plato*, who was doubtful leſt exceſs of labour might prejudice his health, oftentimes exhorted him to a care of it; but his inclination was ſtronger then the authority of his Maſter; and his melancholy temper, which inclined him to contemplation, bore him out through all.

From hence it was that he ſo ſtrongly digeſted all things, and diſpoſed them in ſo great order when he had digeſted them, 'twas for this reaſon alſo that *Galen* praiſes *Ariſtotle* for the chief of Philoſophers, as one that had ſearch'd to the very depth the general Cauſes of all Beings, and had beſt deſcended into their particular eſſence. *Clemens Alexandrinus* aſſures us, that *Ariſtotle* had at *Athens* conference with a Jew, to inſtruct him in the Religion of the *Ægyptians*.

Gal. de nat. pot

Strom. lib 1

Ægyptians. *Euſebius* agrees with him, and both the one and the other have believed it, upon the Teſtimony of a Peripatician named *Clearcus*: And 'tis very likely, that this Philoſopher, to ſupply the defect of a Voyage to *Ægypt*, which was then thought neceſſary to the attaining of Wiſdom, contented himſelf thus to underſtand the Myſteries and Religion of the *Ægyptians*, to ſpare ſo much time as is expoſed to loſs by Travel. *Clear. lib. de ſomn.*

It was about the Fifteenth year that *Ariſtotle* had ſtudied under *Plato*, that he began to conceive ſome Opinions different from thoſe of his Maſter; having a ſolid ſpirit, and which coveted to reduce all his thoughts under certain Rules, and thoſe founded on reaſon, he content d not himſelf with thoſe wandring Principles on which *Plato* ſeem'd to eſtabliſh his Doctrine. The boldneſs that *Ariſtotle* had to maintain his Opinions againſt *Plato*, even in his own School, was the cauſe that his Maſter conceived ſome diſpleaſure againſt him, and began to blame him for his vain expence in Habit, as not conformable to the Profeſſion of a Philoſopher: For indeed *Ariſtotle* began to take ſomewhat too much care of his perſon; but *Plato* had not ſeem'd to take notice of it, till *Ariſtotle* had contradicted him in his opinions. 'Tis true, that the Schollar by examining and piercing into the opinions of his Maſter, made his Maſter look on him as a punctillious and contradictory ſpirit, which gave

occasion to *Helladius* and *Ælian* to say, that *Plato* very much complained of it, and treated his Schollar as one ingrateful, and a Rebel.

Laertius gives some reason to believe, that the animosity of *Aristotle* against *Plato*, proceeded so far as to attempt the erecting of a School against his, even during his life. But *Eusebius* and *Ammonius* clear him from this reproch; and *Philoponus* assures us, that *Cabrias* and *Timotheus*, who then governed the Commonwealth, and were Kinsmen to *Plato*, would never have suffered it. It cannot be denied, but that *Aristotle* held opinions contrary to those of *Plato*; and in my judgment there is no need to justifie him about it; for there is nothing freer then the mind, and acknowledgements to a Master, do not oblige one to espouse all his Opinions. After all, 'tis certain that *Aristotle* did nothing against those due acknowledgments in things Essential, he preserved even to the death of *Plato*, a great respect for him; nay, he carried that respect farther, in shewing afterward the veneration he had for so extraordinary a man; for he writ a Discourse in honour of his memory; he erected an Altar to him as to a Divinity, the Inscription of which Altar yet remains in the Anthology.

Euseb. de prep Evang. *Ammon. in vit. Arist.*

Laer. in Plat.

These acknowledgements of *Aristotle* should be so much the more valued, because he had some

ſome reaſon to be diſſatisfied with *Plato*, who had choſen *Speuſippus* to ſucceed him in his School after his death; a man of far leſs deſert then *Ariſtotle*. It was this preference poſſibly that obliged *Ariſtotle* to leave *Athens*, and retire himſelf to *Atarnia*, a ſmall City of the Province of *Myſia* towards the *Helleſpont*, where his ancient Friend *Hermias* then reigned: This Prince received him ſo kindly, that he had reaſon to forget his diſguſts; for he gave him his Siſter *Pythias* in Marriage But *Ariſtotle* was ſo tranſported with the love of this Princeſs, that he ſacrificed to her with the ſame Ceremonies that were uſed to the Goddeſs *Ceres*, and compoſed a Hymn in the honour of *Hermias* his Benefactor, like thoſe made to *Apollo* And yet *Athenæus*, who ſeldom pardons *Ariſtotle* any thing, juſtifies him about this *Hymn*. And *Ariſtocles* the Peripatician affirms, theſe Sacrifices to *Pythias* to be a pure calumny raiſed by a *Pythagorean* called *Lycon*.

Ariſtoc apud Euſeb. l. b. con. Plut. in notis Cauſab. ſupra Diog. Laer in Ariſtot.

Ariſtotle remained three years with *Hermias*; but that Prince being taken by *Memnon*, General of the King of *Perſia*'s Armies, this Philoſopher retired to *Mitylene*, the chief City of *Leſbos*, where he ſome time remained. *Philip* King of *Macedon* had now made himſelf Maſter of *Thrace*, and almoſt of all *Greece*; and having

heard of the Reputation of *Aristotle*, he writ to him a very civil Letter, to invite him to take charge of the Education of his Son *Alexander*, then about Fourteen years old. *Aristotle* accepted the offer, and in eight years that he was with the Prince, taught him Eloquence, Physick, Morality, and Policy, especially what was most dark in those Sciences; together with a particular Philosophy, as *Plutarch* affirms, which this great man taught to no other person.

Neque vero hoc fugit sapientissimum Regem Philippum, *qui* Aristotelem Alexandro *filio doctorem accivit, a quo eodem ille & agendi præcepta acciperet & loquendi.* Cic. 3. de orat.

Philip and *Olympias* his Queen seeing the progress their Son made by the care of so excellent a Master, caused Statues to be erected to *Aristotle*, amongst those which the people had erected to them. *Philip* caused *Stagira* to be rebuilt which had been ruined by the preceding Wars; and in favour of his Sons Master, restor'd the Inhabitants to their former liberty. *Alexander* for his part had such an esteem for *Aristotle*, that he publickly said that he was more obliged to him then to *Philip*, for his Father had onely made him a Prince, but his Master had made him reasonable. Assuredly there needed so great a Master as *Aristotle* to educate *Alexander*. 'Tis a glory for *Socrates* to have had such a Schollar as *Plato*; and a glory for *Plato* to have been Master to *Aristotle*:

Plutarc. in Alex.

But

But it is much more glorious for *Ariſtotle* to have form'd ſuch a Schollar as *Alexander*, who deſerved to be Maſter of the Univerſe. And yet *Lucian*, who ſpares no body, would make us believe, that *Ariſtotle* gave ill education to *Alexander*, abus'd the goodneſs of his nature, and was one of the groſſeſt of his flatterers. But *Lucian* is a Railer, who to purſue the Character beſt pleaſed his fancy, made ſmall account of turning into burleſque Religion, Philoſophy, or Royalty, the three things of the world moſt worthy of reſpect and vene.ation.

Lucian in Dial Alex. & Diog.

After all this *Ariſtotle* loſt the favour of *Alexander* by an adventure very ſtrange; *Caliſthenes* one of that Princes Courtiers, and near kinſman to *Ariſtotle*, talk'd ſomewhat too freely, *Alexander* had often ſuffered him: but the young man out of tooauſtere virtue, having one day too publickly let fall ſomething, blaming the Kings Conduct was very ill treated; and 'tis pretended, that out of revenge he too eaſily hearkened to the propoſitions made by *Hermolaus*, and other Lords of the Court againſt the life of *Alexander*: The Conſpiracy is diſcovered, *Caliſthenes* thrown to the Lyons, and *Ariſtotle* not exempt from ſuſpicion.

Chaliſthenes *interit haud quanquam aulæ, & aſcitantium ingenio accommodato* Cic. lib. 8. Plut in Alex.

But

But whilst love of glory draws *Alexander* to the Conquest of the whole world, *Aristotle* retires to *Athens*, where he is very well received; for *Philip* had for his sake been very gracious to the *Athenians*. After the death of *Speusippus*, Master of *Plato*'s School, *Xenocrates* had succeeded, and *Aristotle* finding the place full, resolved now to set up another School. The design he had to teach in a manner different from that of *Plato*, and to alter his Opinions were the chief motives to put his thought in execution. The Magistrates of *Athens* willing to acknowledge his merit, gave him the *Lycæum* to settle his new School in, which place became famous in a little time by the concourse of his Scholars; it was now that he composed his principal Works.

Plut. in Alex. Notwithstanding *Plutarch* says, that he had already writ his Books of Physick, and Morality, the Metaphysicks, and Rhetorick: He reports likewise, that *Alexander* reproched him, for having made publick what he had taught him; in which he was not just to rob *Aristotle* of so lawful a glory, and posterity of Works so useful. But *Alexander* pretended to raise himself above all the world as well in Knowledge as in Power; so much he affected Glory.

The same *Plutarch* says likewise, that *Aristotle* disgusted with the Suspicions of *Alexander*, and the Presents he had sent to *Xenocrates*, conceived so much resentment, that he was a Partner in the

the Conſpiracy of *Antipater*. *Xiphilinus* does in ſome ſort authorize this Opinion, when he deſcribes the ſottiſh vanity of *Caracalla*, that extravagant Emperour, who affected to reſemble *Alexander* in all things, expelled out of *Alexandria* all the Peripatetick Philoſophers, out of an imagination that *Ariſtotle* had in effect contributed to the death of *Alexander*. But with reſpect both to *Plutarch* and *Xiphilinus*, this Opinion has no foundation, at leaſt it made no impreſſion upon the ſpirit of that Prince, who even after the death of *Caliſthenes*, and in the very height of his Conqueſts, forbore not to command *Ariſtotle* to apply himſelf to the conſideration of Animals; he ſent him * eight hundred Talents to furniſh the Expence of this Study, and gave him a great number of Huntſmen and Fiſhermen to labour according to his orders, and bring him from all parts whereon to make his Obſervations.

* 480000 Crowns. *Ex ſupp. Bud.*

Alexandro *Rege inflammato cupidine animalium naturas noſcendi delegataque commentatione Ariſtoteli ſummo in omni ſcientia viro, aliquot hominum millia in totius Aſiæ, Græciæ tractu ei parere juſſa, &c.* Plin. lib. 8. cap. 16. Athen. lib. 9. Ælian. lib. 4. Var. Hiſt. c. 9.

That Liberality, and theſe Cares, were teſtimonies of the greatneſs of Soul that was in this Prince, as well as tokens of the little impreſſion that ſuſpicion had upon his ſpirit, that *Ariſtotle* was

was concerned in the Conspiracy of *Calisthenes* which *Quintus Curtius* believes to be feigned.

Calisthenes laïti in caput Regis consilii innoxius. Curt. lib. 8.

For the Conspiracy of *Antipater* who poysoned *Alexander*, of which *Plutarch* accuses *Aristotle*, there is yet less appearance; since *Aristotle* lived in peace at *Athens* under the protection of that Prince, and began not to be exposed to the Persecution of his Enemies, till after his death: For that Persecution was raised against him by the Artifices of a Priest of *Ceres* named *Eurymedon*, after *Alexander* was dead. This Priest accused *Aristotle* of impiety, and gave a colour to his accusation, from the Hymn this Philosopher had long afore composed in honour of *Hermias*, and the Sacrifices he made to his Sister as to the Goddess *Ceres*. *Aristotle* made choice to write to the Magistrates a very ample Apology, to justifie himself from this Crime; not being willing to expose his Person in his defence; and besides, there was no grace in his Speech, for his voice was very low and unpleasant.

After that this Philosopher retired himself to *Calcis*, a City of *Eubœa*, fearing the people of *Athens*, who were very nice in matters of Religion: The sole remembrance of the treatment which *Socrates* had received from this people in a like Accusa-

Propter morum rectitudinem pulsus Athenis. Alb. Mag. v. Meth. c. 1. Strabon. lib. 10. & Suid.

Accuſation ſo affrighted *Ariſtotle*, that ſome have believed he choſe rather to poyſon himſelf, then deliver himſelf up into the hands of his Enemies. Saint *Juſtin*, and Saint *Gregory Nazianzen* ſay, that he died with diſcontent, becauſe he could not comprehend the flowing and ebbing of the *Euripus*. Upon which ſeveral Moderns have invented that Fable which has ſince took place, that this Philoſopher threw himſelf into the *Euripus*, ſaying theſe words, *Since I cannot comprehend thee, thou ſhalt ſwallow me.*

Juſt in admon. ad gentes.
Greg. Nazian. cont. Jul.

Nonnus in Greg Theol Joan. Vallen Ang. Col. Rhodius lib. 9 lec. antiq. Pic. Mirand.

Others believe he died a natural death of the Chollick: *Cenſorinus* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* aſſures us, that he was very ſubject to that Diſtemper. This laſt Opinion appears to me moſt likely; for what appearance is there, that a man ſo well adviſed as *Ariſtotle* could determine to poyſon himſelf, after having ſecured himſelf from fear of the *Athenians*, by ſo prudent a retreat, and being now no more in their power; or abandon himſelf to melancholy and deſpair becauſe he could not comprehend the ebbing and flowing of a Tide? He that ſaw his knowledge bounded by ſo many other things which he was ignorant of, without perplexing

Cenſorin. de dent.
Am. lib 16.

hi-

himself. He died in his great Climacteric Sixty three; the same age at which *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* died at. Those of *Stagira* took away his Body, and erected Altars to him. He left a Daughter by *Pythias*, and a Son by another Wife. His Daughter was married for her second time to a younger Son of *Democrates* King of *Lacademon*; and the Son was that *Nicomachus* whom he so dearly affected, and to whom he addressed his Books of Morality.

CHAP. V.

Comparison between their Manners and Parts.

TO conclude this first Part, which has respect onely to the Persons of *Plato* and *Aristotle*: In my opinion we may form this judgment of their dispositions and spirits by the abridgement I have made of their Lives. The Manners of *Plato* appear more pure and more innocent then those of *Aristotle*; Birth and good Education contributed possibly this advantage to *Plato*, who was brought up like a Person of Quality. *Aristotle* was reduced sometimes to the necessity to turn Emperick, to get wherewith to live on;

so

so that the evil estate of his affairs engaged him to a life more dependant, and more struggling. *Plato* at his return from Travel lived retired; and *Aristotle* lived a long time at Court, exposed to that tumultuous life there led, and to all the adventures of a Courtier; his natural Inclinations best appeared in the Court of *Hermias*, where he lived without constraint, his passions for *Pythias*, the adorations he paid her, and all those disordered extravagancies of his Love, the manner of his forsaking that prince in his disgrace, his Jealousies of *Speusippus*, his animosities against *Xenocrates*, the intrigues he underwent in the Court of *Philip*, and that of *Alexander*, who were both the one and the other very curious, and the pretended Suspitions of *Alexander* against his fidelity, sufficiently lay open the very bottom of his heart. *Plato*, who confin'd himself to his Books, and to his School, was much less subjected to the Combates of Fortune, and consequently his life was more easie, his mind more peaceable, his conduct more virtuous, and all his thoughts more honest to his friends, and more religious to the gods.

I must indeed confess, that of all the Virtues of *Plato*, there's none with which I am more affected then his shame-fac'dness and modesty; he never uttered any thing as his own, he that could speak so well; 'twas *Socrates* that spoke all that *Plato* knew, and the Master who caused and begat all the honour of his Scholars knowledge;

or

or rather the Scholar, who gave the honour his Master of all that he said, and of all that knew: Never was there Scholar that paid mu.h acknowledgment to his Master, as *Pl* did to *Socrates*. *Aristotle* acted in a manner much different; he advanced his Maximes, a gave out his Doctrine upon his own foundation without ever so much as making mention of *Pl to* who had been his Master.

For the Qualities of Mind, they were extraordinary both in the one and the other; th had both a *Genius* advanced, and proper f great things. 'Tis true, the spirit of *Plato* w more bright and polished, but that of *Aristo* more vaste and profound. *Plato* had the Imagination lively, quick, abundant, fertile in inventions, Ideas, Expressions, Figures, giving a thousand different turns, and a thousand differen colours to things; but after all it was very often but an imagination. *Aristotle* is hard and dry in all that he says, but it is reason that he says though he say it dryly; his Phrase pure as it is has I know not what of austere; and his obscurities, whether natural or affected, perplex and weary the most part of his Readers. *Plato* is delicate in all that he thinks, and in all that he says. *Aristot e* is not so at all, though he be more natural; his Style is more simple and united, but rugged and knotty: That of *Plato* is great and lofty, but loose and diffus'd. This always says more then he need; and the other never

never enough, but leaves one always to think more then he says: The one surprizes the spirit, and dazles it with a bright and flourishing Character; the other lightens and instructs by a method just and solid. And as the Reasonings of the one are more direct and simple, the Reasonings of the other are more ingenious and compound. *Plato* creates or stirs up Wit by the fertility of his own; and *Aristotle* instills Reason and Judgment by the impression of that sound sense appears in all he has said. In short, *Plato* designs for the most part onely to speak well; *Aristotle* intends to reason well, to sift out matters, and search their first beginnings, and from those principles draw infallible Consequences; whilst *Plato* giving himself a greater liberty, imbellishes his discourse, and pleases more; but out of a too great desire to Please, permits himself to be often hurried away by his Eloquence: Which perhaps gave *Longinus* occasion to blame the immoderate use which he makes of Metaphors, out of a too great affectation of a sublime kind of speech, wherein he appears excessive; his *Exordiums* of *Timæus*, of *Phædon*, of *Critias*, of *Parmenides*, have all the lofrineſs and height of this kind, and do a little stray from the paths of Philosophy, and of a man who makes profession to teach. *Aristotle* keeps still within his bounds, and calls all things simply by their names, and so never wandring, nor striving

Longin. cap. 29. de Gen. Sub.

to flye too high, is leſs ſubject to fall into erro
then *Plato*; who cauſes thoſe to ſtumble, th
too cloſely follow him: For he ſeduces by h
way of inſtructing, which is too pleaſant.

Plato *ſuavius ad legendum quam potentius ad perſuade dum ſcribit; contra* Ariſtoteles *plus habet roboris quam ſuavitatis.* Carp. in Alcion.

But though *Plato* has excelled in all parts o
Eloquence, though he wa
moſt perfect Oratour, a
cording to *Longinus* Opin
on; which *Hermogenes* co
firms to us in his *Idea*,
though the Eloquence of this Philoſopher ſu
paſſed that of all Oratours, and though *Ariſto
tle* is not at all eloquent, yet he for the mo
part furniſhes the foundation and body of th
diſcourſe, whilſt the other gives only the colour
the grace: 'Tis in this ſenſe that we are to tak
the opinion of *Quintillian*, when he ſays of th
Platoniſts, who are the principal Schollars of *So
crates*, that they very muc
perfect an Oratour by prepa
ring him after their manner.
But to finiſh this Parallel;
Cicero pretends that *Plato* too
obſtinately affected the ſtudy
of Geometry, Muſick, and
Aſtronomy: Indeed he did
ſtrive too much to refine that
know-

In omnibus quæ diſcenda oratori eminuit Plato. Fab. l. 1. c. 12.

Oratorem futurum optimi Socratici *præparant.* Fab. l. 10. c. 1.

Plato *in Geometria, Muſica, Aſtris, & Numeris ſe contrivit.* Cic. lib. 1. de fin.

knowledge of Numbers he had learnt from the *Pythagoreans*] wherewith he has created perpetual Mysteries in the most ordinary Reasonings of his Philosophy. *Aristotle* is bounded to Sensible things, on which he lays the common foundation of his Knowledge, without raising himself above the matter, by those subtilties and mysterious Refinements wherewith *Plato* embroiled his spirit. In summe, the difference between these two Philosophers will be easier observed in the Recital of their method, which is the Second Part I have proposed in this Comparison.

The End of the First Part.

THE METHOD OF PLATO and ARISTOTLE.

The Second Part.

CHAP. I.

The Method of PLATO.

PLATO has not any very certain Method to explain his Doctrine; his *Genius* is so free, and his Style so interwoven, that he seems not to follow any Rule; and yet when he is read diligently, and with attention, there may be observed some tracks of a Method particular

to him, because of the great liberty he takes; and because it is, as one may say, composed of many Methods.

The first and most known of all these Methods, is Dialogue; he took this manner of writing from *Socrates*, and the other Philosophers of his time. *Diogenes Laertius* says, All which was then writ, was in that manner; *Stilpon*, *Euclide*, *Glaucon*, *Simon* the *Athenian*, and *Xenophon* writ so. *Alexemenes*, of whom *Aristotle* speaks, was the first Author of this way. *Socrates* affected it as the most natural for instruction, and most convenient to clear the difficulties which were met with in the train of matters to be examined; because in a continued Discourse many things escaped those who were to be instructed, which in the intervals of Dialogue there was opportunity of examining. *Plato*, who was formed by *Socrates*, found this way of teaching most conformable to his *Genius*, which was high and lofty, but free; and that it agreed better with an unlimited discourse, where one is not obliged to be fixed to one Design, nor tied up to the same Subject. The spirit of *Plato* could not be constrain'd, nor submit it self to Rules, all is loose and disjoynted, even in matters wherein he was most exact. There is so much variety in his Dialogues, that *Picus Mirandula*

* Laert. in Plat. Athen. lib. 2. Arist. in Poet.

De van. Doct. Gent. lib. 1, c. 4.

assures

assures us, that even his own Schollars could not precisely agree on the principal Subject of which he treated. As for Example; In his Books of Laws he speaks of the Nature of the Soul, of its Generation and Immortality; He explains its Eternity in the *Phedon*, and in *Timæus*: In the Dialogue of *Menon*, which is a discourse of Virtue, he mixes a great Tract of Geometry; where he shews that Virtue may be taught by its Principles, as Geometry is. In his first *Alcibiades*, which is a Discourse of the Nature of Man, he makes a digression upon Musick; and in all the Subjects of which he treats, he follows more his *Genius* then the matter: This may be his principal Character; not but that upon due reflection one may perceive, that his Windings are not Wandrings: 'Twill be found, looking on them near hand, that all have an agreement with the principal Subject of which he treats; and there is no appearance of any design, though still there be a concealed one. But it may be concluded, that he might have gone more direct; and that by these turnings and windings he makes more way then he need to come to his proposed end.

Diogenes believes that *Plato* chose this manner of writing, out of a design to examine things better by the Expositions he made, and by his Interrogations and Answers. This is that which makes him say in his *Cratyles*, That a perfect Logician is he that knows well to interro-

gate, and well to answer, which *Plato* knew very well; for he was a great Logician in the opinion of *Aristotle* himself. But there are two difficulties to be cleared concerning *Plato*'s Dialogues. First, Whether without mixture they contain the pure Doctrine of *Socrates*, as *Plato* himself seems to pretend: Secondly, If they were in effect true Entertainments, and real Conferences, which this Philosopher held with persons with whom he discoursed.

As for the first, there is great appearance that all which *Plato* says in his Dialogues, came not purely from his Master, but that he has mixt his own Lights with those of *Socrates*; the more to authorize his Doctrine, to give more weight to what himself prefers, and what he had learnt in his Voyages to *Ægypt* and *Italy*, which in probability were not quite lost time. *Laertius* is of this opinion, and says plainly, Plato *has writ many things which* Socrates *never said*. There are five persons of which *Plato* makes use in his Dialogues to declare and explain his thoughts; *Socrates*, *Timæus*, *Parmenides*, the Host of *Athens*, and him of *Eleates*, who are two nameless persons: He onely tells *Gorgias*, *Thrasymachus*, *Callicles*, *Protagoras*, *Euthydemes*, and others, that which he does not approve, or would refute; and he takes care to make every one speak according to his Character.

Laert. in Plat.

As

As to the ſecond difficulty, *Athenæus* anſwers to it in his Eleventh Book, where *Timon* blames *Plato* for having brought into his Dialogues things that never were. In ſumme, 'tis ſaid, that *Gorgias* having heard that Dialogue recited which bears his Name, declared it to be feigned; and that he had ſaid nothing of what *Plato* made him ſpeak. *Phædon* averr'd the like. *Parmenides* could not have that diſcourſe with *Socrates*, which *Plato* attributes to him, becauſe they lived not in the ſame time. *Socrates* himſelf having heard recited the Dialogue of *Lyſis*, ſays of *Plato* in *Laertius*, This young man makes me grow very large. And *Xenophon* in *Alugella* aſſures us, that *Socrates* underſtood neither Phyſick, nor the Mathematicks; and that the diſcourſe he is made to hold on thoſe Sciences, is fictitious; but the Character of Dialogue admits theſe liberties, as *Cicero* who uſes them likewiſe in imitation of *Plato*, explains to *Varro*. *Athenæus* forbears not on this Subject to reproch *Plato* of the injuſtice he has done *Homer* in blaming him for the Fictions he has mixed in his Poems; ſince *Plato* has taken the ſame liberty in his Dialogues wherein he treats of Philoſophy, which ought

Xenophon *eos mentiri dicit qui diſſertationes de cæli natura aliiſque diſciplinis* Socrati *attribuerunt, quod cum ſcribit notat in* Platonem, *in cujus libris* Socrates *de Phyſica, Muſica, & Geometria diſſerit.* Aul. l. 14 c. 4.

ought to tye us ſtrictly to the truth, even to very ſcruple.

Puto fore ut cum legeris, mireve id nos locutos, quod nunquam locuti ſumus, ſed noſti morem Dialogorum Quæſt. Acad l. 1.

The ſecond Method of *Plato*, is but as the univerſal Inſtrument of the firſt, that is to ſay, definition and diviſion, which he took from *Socrates*; for theſe are the two moſt ordinary ways he makes uſe of to eſtabliſh what he preſents. For in ſhort, we can give no perfect knowledge of things, but by making known their nature, which is done by definition, and the moſt certain way to arrive at it, is diviſion. *Laertius*, who gives *Plato* induction for a third means, of which he particularly made uſe to overthrow whatever he would refute, explains it at large in his third Book, as well as the Irony which *Socrates* brought in, in all he ſaid, eſpecially when he had to deal with the Sophiſts: But I paſs over theſe things to examine what is more particular, and mroe cloſe in the manner of *Plato*.

And this is what I call his third Method which conſiſts in explaining Humane things with Divine, Senſibles by Intellectuals, Particulars by Univerſals, Images and Copies by Idea's, which are the firſt Models. *Ariſtotle* aſſures us, That *Plato* took this way of explanation from *Cratyles*, who had been Scholar to *Heraclytus*,

Qui a ſenſibilibus tollebant ſcientiam quo in perpetuo eſſent fluxu. Ex interpret. ex arab. A. 1. 3. de an.

clytus, and from *Heraclytus* himself, as *Averroes* sayes; And *Marcilius Ficinus* proposes this Method in his Epistles, where he sayes, That *Plato* in the seventh Book of his Common wealth declares, That Philosophy was no other thing, then to raise ones self from what was corruptible and perishable to the first Principle, which was immoveable and Eternal: There is some likelyhood that *Socrates*, who taught this Method to *Plato*, had learnt it of that *Indian*, of which *Eusebius* speaks, who being at *Athens*, had very particular conferences with *Socrates*: For this *Indian* having demanded of him what it was to be a Philosopher; He answered him, That to know how to live well was to be a Philosopher. The stranger, sayes *Eusebius*, was not satisfied with this answer; telling him he deceived himself, and that to have a perfect knowledge of natural things, it was necessary to begin with the knowledge of Divine things, which pleased *Socrates* so much, that he often afterward used to say, That one could not better know particular good, then by the universal good, which agrees well enough with that Maxime that the *Greeks* according to *Aristoxenes* opinion took from the *Indians*, *That the universal good ought to be most considerable*; and this maxime has an agreement with that which St. *Augustin* calls *The way to Wisdom*, which applies it self to the knowledge of things by their

Euseb. lib. 3 de præp Evang. c. 1.

Principalius est bonum universi Euseb. in præp Evan ibid.

Via sapientiæ, Aug. lib 7. de Trin

their Principles, and in their prime original, by way of Idea's. That Father took this Method from *Plato*; whom he had diligently studied and when 'tis followed and pierced into, without stopping at the outward rind, as do the most part that read; it will be found that it often explains things only by the agreement they have with the originals, the particulars by the universals, the sensibles which appears by those which appear not; and 'tis particularly for this Method sake that St. *Augustin* ought to pass for a Platonist as may be seen in his way of explaining grace. I take this for an example; because he of all the Fathers has best explained it, and is therefore called the Divine of Grace.

Grace is a gift (says he) Sovereignly perfect in the quality of the gift: There are three things to be considered in a gift, He that gives, He to whom it is given, and the manner in which it is given; He which gives, to give in Sovereign perfection, ought to give of his own; and must be in a power, capacity and disposition, to give all that he does give: He therefore ought to be Sovereignly good, to give willingly, Sovereignly powerful, to give liberally, and Soverei nly independent, to give without hopes of return, otherwise 'tis a traffick and no gift: He to whom it is given ought to merit nothing of him that gives it: For it would be a justice if he deserved it, and he ought to be in extream necessity; otherwise he may pass by the gift and refuse it. Lastly, for the manner in which it should be given,

given, it ought to be freely; for what is given by constraint, is not given, but snatcht away; and the gift ought to prevent the merit, least it seem a recompence; it ought also to preceed desire, hopes, and requests of him that receives it, because by these ways it may be merited. All these qualities are met together in Grace, and especially in that chief and most important of all Graces, which is the Redemption of mankind they all agree to make it a gift Sovereignly perfect. Such is the tract of Grace in St. *Augustin*, and all that he says in divers places of his works, may be reduced to these Principles. In which he has imitated *Plato*, who was accustomed to explain things by their Idea's, reducing them to the Estate in which they ought to be, and not that in which they are, as he sayes in his Dialogue of the Sophist. 'Tis thus he gives the Idea of health, in his *Eutyphron*, the Idea of Law in his *Minos*, the Idea of a perfect City in his Laws, and that in his Books of the Common-wealth he proposes the Idea of an universal justice in a City before that of one Citizen.

'Tis thus that in those same Books he traces the platform of a perfect Government, which well comprehended, cannot be made practicable, but to men in Idea; concerning which *Cicero* rallies so pleasantly, when he sayes, *That* Cato's *Counsels in many deliberations were prejudicial to affairs; for he judg'd of the Government of the* Roman *Common-wealth, which was quite corrupted*

ed with the same severity, as if he had been to give his opinion of things in Plato's *Common-wealth.*

Cato *nocet interdum reip. dicit enim tanquam, in* Platonis πολιτεία, *non tanquam in* Romuli *fæce sententiam* Epist. ad Att. lib. 2. Ep. 1.

This Method of Idea's is the most ordinary of those which *Plato* makes use of, and the most proper Road in his judgment to the true knowledge of things, because it reduces them to the Principle. That which has made the Doctrine of the Idea's so famous, and has so much divided the opinions of wise men, concerning his conception of them, is, whether these Idea's are Eternal substances, and out of the superintendment of God, as *Ammonius* the Scholer of *Proclus* believed, who would have these Idea's, according to the Doctrine of *Plato*, to be Models quite separated from God, upon which he forms the ground of his work. *Albertus Magnus*, St. *Thomas*, *and Trapezuntius*, are of this opinion. But *Plutarch*, *Alcinus*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Proclus*, *Jamblicus*, St. *Austin*, *Themistius*, *Simplicius*, *Plethon*, and *Marcilius Ficinus* are of another judgment, they all teach with one common consent, That *Plato* did not believe that these Idea's were forms existent from themselves, and distinct from the knowledge and superintendment of God, as *Ammonius* and some others have imposed upon *Plato*: For those separated Idea's are so absurd, that there

is

is no likelyhood that such thoughts should come into the mind of a Philosopher so reasonable as *Plato*; therefore in his Doctrine the Idea of the world is no other thing then the image the Creator has form'd.

But if it be so, *Aristotle* is much too blame, to declaime with so much heat against the Idea's of *Plato*, since he himself was of the same opinion; as appears in his Books of the Metaphysicks, and in many other places of his works; to which I answer, That *Aristotle* had reason to oppose the conceptions of *Plato* on these Idea's; for though the opinion of that Philosopher has nothing defective in the substance, 'tis defective in the manner; because *Plato* places in God two degrees utterly distinct; the one of first intendment, the other of first Principle of all Beings in quality of Creator. He pretends that this first intendment, where Idea's are formed, is the original from which the Creator takes his designs, and that that Principle Being, being distinct from the Creator, the Idea's are likewise distinct; and *Aristotle* had reason to oppose this Doctrine, he who acknowledged a simplicity so pure in the Essence of God, could not suffer those Idea's thus distinguished by *Plato*, differencing the intendment of God, from God himself. 'Twas this distinction *Aristotle* oppos'd in opposing the Idea's as forms exteriour to that first Being, not admitting any mixture or composition

ὁδημι ȣργός το νοερόν, Plot. lib. 3. Enn.

in

in his nature. And this is the opinion of *Aristotle* against the opinions of *Plato*, though *Simplicius* believed him not different from *Plato's* mind upon this question, but from the manner of expressing it; but it is not likely, that a Spirit so solid as *Aristotle*, should take delight to combat with words, or break forth into such heats against simple expressions. 'Twas necessary in this occasion, thus far to clear *Plato's* Doctrine of Idia's, which begot so famous a difference between him and *Aristotle*. But I return to my subject.

We may find then in *Plato* a fourth Method yet more dark and hidden then the others, which consists in explaining the truth of things by their Figures; which *Plato* practiced to draw more respect to his Doctrine, by rendering it more mysterious under the Vails which covered it. The principle interpreters of *Plato* have added to the opinion their Master had in this point. *Marcilius Ficinus* sayes, That *Plato* in all important matters, of which he treats, has something Allegorical; and he adds that that figure of the Soul which he explains by numbers, and of which he speaks in his *Timæus*, is yet a Mystery unknown to his Commentators, and that in his *Epinomis* there is a Riddle not yet resolved. The birth of love in the Banquet

Proclus, Iamblicus, Porphyrius, *in Plat. lib de Rep.*

Quæ scripta Platonis de anima, & de ejus circuitu aliter intelligi debent, quam verba sonant. Ficin in Plat. Theol. li. 7. c. 4.

Banquet. The War of the *Athenians* against the people of the *Atlantick* Sea, which he tells in his *Critias*. The Chariot of the Soul, its Wings, its Horses, and the Coachman he gives it in the *Phadra*. The fable of the Generation of Animals, by *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*, in the *Protagoras*, are all pure Allegories, if you will believe *Origen*, *Porphyrius*, and *Proclus*: and as much *Ficinus* observes on the *Parmenides*.

Socrates used this way in imitation of *Pythagoras*, which he did chiefly to confound the Arrogance of the Sophists, by concealing under these Figures what he knew best: whilst the Sophists affected with so much pride to set forth even things they did not know: *Plato* likewise learnt this Symbolical Philosophy from the *Egyptians*, who being much addicted to superstition, explained themselves even in matters of Religion by Figures, that way of treating in things Divine seeming to them most respectful. Their Priests, in whose hands were the Mysteries of their Religion, authorized this Method, to sustain their credit, and to draw to themselves veneration by the respect of those holy things, which they concealed from the eyes of the people, for fear of prophanation. They believed likewise, as *Jamblicus* observes in one of his works, where he explains their Mysteries, That they were obliged to this course in imitation of Nature, which under

the exteriour Veil of the body, conceals the perfections of the mind.

However it were this manner of explication was so strongly established in *Egypt* that it is more then probable; That when the *Egyptians* were driven out of their Country by *Cambyses*; being afterwards dispersed throughout all *India*, they brought in use there likewise this manner of writing, by *Hieroglyphicks*; which is yet there in use in some parts; and even as far as *China* there is some agreement with that writing formerly used among the *Egyptians*: For they explained, as I have said, their thoughts by the Figures of Birds, Animals, and other Sensible things, which they adored as Divinities; for which cause the *Greeks* gave those Figures the name of *Hieroglyphicks*. But I do not pretend that Symbolical way of writing; which was the most ordinary practice of *Plato*, is universally practiced in all he has writ; for he speaks many things very plain, and which may be understood by all the world, though yet there are things which are to be understood by no body, being altogether Allegorical: And *Proclus* the most exact of his Interpriters does avow, That in many places he has writ things not very Intelligible. 'Twas Customary in *Socrates* School to write all things Figuratively, as appears by that famous

'Απαρα καλύπτως. Procl.

famous Picture of *Cebes*, who was one of the moſt learned of *Socrates* his Scholers; yet this Picture which has been ſo much eſteemed by all poſterity is only a plain repreſentation of humane life, under thoſe diverſe Figures of which it is compoſed. This is the moſt exact account I can give of the Method of *Plato*, proceed we now to *Ariſtotle*.

CHAP. II.

Of the Method of Ariſtotle.

'Tis not much to be wondred that *Plato's* Method was ſo diverſe and uncertain; for ſince his firſt Maxime was to aſſure nothing, but to doubt of all things, what needed he have Principles, who had nothing to eſtabliſh. *Ariſtotle* was the firſt of *Plato's* Scholars, with *Xenocrates* who forſook this manner of doubting to clear things by ſearching their depths; ſo that he formed to himſelf a Method more ſimple, and withall more certain then that of *Plato*; becauſe he laid down Principles. The firſt of theſe Principles is, That there is a Science contrary to

In Platonis *libris nihil affirmatur quæritur de omnibus nihil certe dicitur.* Cic. *Acad.* quæſt. lib. 1.

opinion of *Plato*, who beli
ved none; becauſe he thoug
nothing certain in Nature: H
held that the Soul of man w
obſcur'd entring into the bod
as a light is extinguiſhed in th
water. That that knowledg
which the Soul has of all thing
by the nobleneſs of its extract
on, Divine and Immortal, i
utterly loſt by its commerc
with the matter; that therefore the knowledge i
gains by the uſe and experience of things, is no
a true knowledge but an all-pure reminiſcence,
as *Plotinus* explains it. *Ariſtotle* was of an opi
nion quite contrary: He believed that the Soul
has not from it ſelf any Principle of knowledge,
when it is united to the body, that it only acquire
knowledge by the Senſes,
which are as ſo many eſta
bliſhed Meſſengers to give i
an account of what paſſes a
broad, that from theſe particular knowledges which
come to it by the Miniſtry of the Senſes, it forms
of it ſelf, by the operation of its underſtanding,
knowledges univerſal, certain, and evident, and
this is *Science*.

Utrique Platonis *ubertate pleni certam diſciplinæ formulam, compoſuerunt. Illam autem* Socraticam *de omnibus rebus nulla affirmatione adhibita, conſuetudinem diſſerendi reliquerunt.* Cic. Acad. quæſt.

Ἐκ παλαιῶν τύπους τοῖς νεὼς καὶ ἄρτι ἥκουσι. l. Ennead. 5.

Thus the first Method of *Aristotle* is utterly opposite to that of *Plato*; for *Plato* pretends, That to come to the knowledge of things, we are to begin at universals, and so descend to particulars: And *Aristotle* teaches by the knowledge of things particular and sensible, to mount to the knowledre of generals and immaterials; being perswaded by this Principle which he holds for indubitable, *That nothing can enter into the Soul but by the Sense*: For man being made as he is, cannot judge of things sensible with any certainty, but by sense. The Maxims of *Plato* would have things known by Idea's, which are as the first originals; those of *Aristotle* would have things known by the effects, which are the expressions and Copies of those Idea's; the order which *Plato* establishes is that of Nature, which flyes it self, proceeding from the cause to effects; that of *Aristotle* is the order of the kuowledge of the Soul, which seeks not out the cause, but by the effect. That which St. *Augustin* calls *The way of Science*, which he opposes to to that of *Sapience*, and of which he speaks in his Books of the Trinity. Such is the first Method of *Aristotle*, which he took from *Architas*, the

Aristoteles *ad-sensibilia traduxit quæ Pythagorici de numeris & substantijs intelligibilibus dixere.* Bessar Card in Cœlum l. 2. c 4

Nihil est in intellectu quodnon fuerit prius in sensu, ex Aver. text. in Arist. l. 1 post. anali. 3. 13

Augustl. l. 7. de trinit.

Scholar of *Pythagoras*, and which *Arthytas* h learned from *Dexippus*. This *Dexippus* in t order of Categories, of which he laid the fi foundation, fetch'd the ſubſtance from the he of other Categories, as the moſt material and mo ſenſible; but becauſe this knowledge of univer things, formed from the knowledge of particula has a Principle faulty, and ſubject to erro *Ariſtotle* ſeeks ways to rectifie this Principle, a render it infallible by the means of his univer Organ.

This is the ſecond Method of *Ariſtotle*, and i in this Organ that he eſtabliſhes the art of d monſtration by that of Syllogiſme; for demo ſtration is his moſt ordinary method, as *Am nius* witneſſes, and *Ariſtot* him himſelf calls the art of Syl logiſme his principal Metho his Logick ſerves only to eſta bliſh this Method; all that h ſays has a relation to it. Th Book of Categories treats o things or parts diſtant, which ought to enter int the compoſition of the Sylogiſme, which ar terms in their natural ſignification. The Boo of the interpretation treats of the matter near to Syllogiſme; that is to ſay of terms as far as they are capable of binding to ſerve for the enunciati on or utterance, which is the ſecond operation of the Spirit. The Book Analyticks con ſiders the Sylogiſme according to the eſſential parts

Ammon in vita. Ariſt.

Μέθοδον εὑρεῖν ἀφ' ἧς ἄν δυνησόμεθα συλλογίζεσθαι περὶ παντὸς. Top. cap. ult.

parts, which compose it, that is according to matter and form, and how the matter of Syllogisme may be more necessary or contingent, or Sophistick, is explained according to these differences, in the course of those Books. The book of the Topicks serves to untwist the matter, when it is only probable or contingent. The Book of Sophismes explains that which is false and equivocal; and the Book of posterior Analyticks, exposes that which is certain and necessary. This is the whole frame of *Aristotles* Method, the most perfect and most accomplished of all Methods; for in effect, demonstration made in the Principles, and in that manner which this Philosopher has conceived it, is the only infallible rule to acquire the Sciences, and the sole means the spirit of man has to arrive at that certainty he seeks in his knowledge, and the only way capable to rectifie the reason by the discernement of true and false; and 'tis this has rendred the use of this method so recommendable to all those who have studied the Sciences, and that which has gain'd it the universal approbation of all ages, which have had the knowledge of it. 'Tis this likewise that made this Method so useful to our Religion, being fitted for the confirming its Doctrine much better then all others, which has made St. *Jerome* say. *That all the artifice and perversity*

Quicquid in secularium perversorum est dogmatum quicquid ad terrenam sapientiæ pertinet & putatur esse robustum hoc dialecticâ arte subvertitur. Com. in Ez.k.

of humane reasoning, and all the force and power that profane Science can gain in the world, may be overthrown by Aristotles *Method.*

But one of the most ordinary courses which *Aristotle* takes in his Demonstrations, is, as *Averroes* observes, to set down the difficulties that may oppose him before he determines his Proposition; and this admirable Art which he has to establish solidly what he prefers, makes him slight that Method of Division, which he judges a way too feeble to arrive at Demonstration: For this reason he calls it *a defective and imperfect Syllogisme*, though it was very much used by *Plato.* Not but that *Aristotle* does often use the *Analysis*, especially in matters where he is obliged to descend into the the tracks of things to examine them to the bottom, and to gain a more distinct knowledge: And the esteem he has for this Method appears, in that often in his other Books he quotes his *Analyticks.*

'Tis by this discussion that he creates matter from what he treats of, pierces into things, and discovers what is most essential; whilst others see onely the husk, and content themselves with the Superficies. It is true, that those Maximes *Aristotle* establishes in Subjects by him examinsd are so profound, that they appear not true but to those which know how to penetrate them; which makes the greater part of his Definitions seem either too obscure, or scarce just; the spirit yields not to them without some resistance,

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not being at first sight convinced: But the more they are meditated, the more true they appear, because they are always founded on Nature and Experience; which makes one of his most intelligent Interpreters say, *The Doctrine of* Aristotle *has for its common foundation the general opinion of all people, and good sence.* Alex Aphrod.

Yet it must be granted, that this depth of *Aristotles* spirit, often robs him of the liberty to explain himself with all that clearness, that is necessary for a Philosopher who is to teach others. 'Tis a fault he is ordinarily reproched with. *Themistius* carries it farther, when he says, It is a folly to pretend to find the true sence of *Aristotle* in all he says, which for all that is not true, but in those things only which seem hard to be deliberated. *Simplicius* believes that *Aristotle* made use of this obscurity, to veil his Conceptions, instead of those Fables and Symbols which he approved not in *Plato*, because that a Philosopher who seeks the truth to teach it, should discover it by sensible effects; and because that truth cannot be disguised under the colour and shadow of Fables, without becoming subject to Illusions by the equivocal Explications that may be given it; and in fine, because truth to shew its purity ought to be evidently manifested. These are the reasons he gives in his Metaphysicks to condemn that Symbolical Philosophy *Plato* taught. Therefore *Li. 3. Metaph. c. 4.*

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when *Ariſtotle* ſpeaks not clearly, it proceeds not always from the qualifications of his mind, which was naturally profound; but out of a pure affectation to be obſcure and myſterious, that he may not be underſtood without explaining; which he declares ſufficiently in a Title he gives to one of his Books, which he calls the *Acroamaticks*, becauſe it muſt be attentively liſtned to, to be underſtood.

But I find in his manner of explaining himſelf, one Virtue which I cannot enough admire; for excellent as he is, he is the moſt modeſt, and leaſt affirmative of all Philoſophers. He ſcarce aſcertains any thing that he prefers; he ſimply ſays it appears ſo to him, and he ſeems not to ſay what he thinks, without ſome hæſitation. When *Aphrodiſæus* or *Averroes* ſpeak of his Doctrine, they repreſent it not but as a thing evident and inconteſtable, whilſt he never ſpeaks of himſelf but doubting, and with an admirable reſervedneſs, as if he were always perplexed how to decide, which is an effect of a profound knowledge; for weakneſs is ſooneſt diſcovered in poſitiveneſs. His *it may be's* which he mixes ſo often with all he ſays, appear to me ſo curious, and I find it ſo proper to the character of a deep and wiſe man; who far from flying out in vapour, has modeſty enough to diſtruſt his own Lights; that I eſteem *Ariſtotles* reſervedneſs and moderation more then his profoundneſs and knowledge; for this is the Virtue of an exalted Soul:

Soul: Great *Genius*'s deliberate and hæſitate, whilſt ſlender ſpirits are nimble in giving their Deciſions, becauſe they have not Light enough to doubt. But *Ariſtotle* does not ſo; he plainly acknowledges in his Book of Generation, that he ſhould ſcarce be able to clear thoſe difficulties he had propoſed: He tells us ingeniouſly in his *Meteors*, that the cauſe he had given of Comets did not ſatisfie him; and in other matters which he examines, he never gives his reſolution but as doubts. This ſeems to me an ingenuity without example; and which I cannot enough admire. After having thus diſcourſed the Method of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, it remains we examine their Doctrine to make the compariſon; and that is the Third Part.

The End of the Second Part.

THE DOCTRINE OF PLATO and ARISTOTLE.

The Third Part.

THE Doctrine of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* is ſo vaſte and profound, that it ſeems as if God had ſent theſe two Philoſophers into the world to be Patterns to the Wiſe, and to give inſtructions to the whole Earth; for in effect both the one or the other were ignorant in very few things, and their thoughts may paſs for

Nihil tantus vir ignorare poteſt. Macrob. de Ariſt.

Finis humani intellectus Ariſtoteles, Hieronym. adv. Jovinian lib. 1.

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the Rules of all Arts, and for the Principles of all Sciences: But because Philosophy is alone capable to make man wise, by the certain knowledge it gives of things; and that it onely applies it self to perfect the mind, whilst other Sciences are employ'd to exercise the Memory, or embellish the Imagination. 'Tis in Philosophy onely I particularly address my self to examine their Doctrine. 'Tis that which rescues the understanding from errour by Logick, and the heart from passions by Morality; to dispose a man by this preparation to the knowledge of things Natural by Physick, and things Supernatural by the Metaphysicks. These are the four parts of which Philosophy is composed; and 'tis according to the order of these parts that I intend to examine the Philosophy of *Plato* and *Aristotle*.

CHAP. I.

Of the Logick of Plato.

PLATO writ no Work, which bore the name of Dialect or Logick, as this part was afterwards called; because *Socrates* did lit-

Facta est ars disserendi quam minime probabat Socrates. Cic. Acad. 1.

tle

tle esteem it. 'Tis true, *Plotinus* has writ a book of the *Dialectica* of *Plato*, but has given no natural train of Precepts to establish that Art: And *Apuleius* having undertaken to speak of the Philosophy of *Plato*, mentions onely his Morals, and Physick; what he says of Logick is taken out of the Book of the Interpretation written by *Aristotle*. But yet if we look diligently for the Logick of *Plato*, we shall find he had some, whose end was to deliver the spirit from errour and opinion, to introduce Science; and that Science was no other thing then the reminiscence, he teaches in his *Philebus*, in his *Menon*, in his Books of the Commonwealth, and in sundry other places of his Dialogues.

Alcino. cap. 5. de doct. Plat.

Plat. lib. 6. c. 7: de rep. in Sophist. *& aliis locis.*

So the first employ of *Plato*'s Logick is to purifie the spirit, and dispose it to the perfect knowledge of things by their *Idea's*: As for example, it conducts the spirit to the knowledge of Good, by the true *Idea* of Good; to the knowledge of Beauty, by the *Idea* of Beauty: For the sole *Idea's* of things are capable to give that certain knowledge which composes Science; the rather because they are immoveable and eternal, and that all the rest are changeable. The Senses themselves, by which we know what we know, are deceivers; this is the end *Plato* proposes to his *Dialectick*, and the most ordinary

nary means which he uſes to arrive at this end, are Diviſion, Definition, Induction, and Suppoſition.

For Diviſion, of which he treats very largely in his Politicks, it compoſes the true *Analyſis* of kind in its *ſpecies*; and it finds by this firſt means the eſſential difference of every thing: This is the certain'ſt way to arrive at Definition, as *Alcinous* obſerves; and the Definition makes us know the Eſſence, which made *Plato* ſay in his *Cratyles*, that the Logician alone is capable of giving names to things, becauſe he onely can know their Nature: By Induction he ſets up ſingular things againſt univerſal, and makes appear the contrarieties of Particulars by general Oppoſitions. In fine, by Suppoſition, which is his laſt means, he diſcovers, as it were, by degrees the Perfections and Imperfections of things. For Example, he makes appear the beauty of the mind by that of the body; and the beauty of doing well by that of the mind.

Alcin. c 5, 6. Plotin. l. 3 & 5. c. 5.

Alcinous explains this Art more at large in his Treatiſe of the Doctrine of *Plato*. *Plotinus* gives us the means whereby this Philoſopher warrants to himſelf his Sophiſmes, by the explication and diſtinction of Propoſitions, as *Socrates* had taught him; though *Socrates*, according to the opinion of *Ariſtotle* was more capable to create difficulties by his Queſtions, then to reſolve them by his Anſwers. This

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is in short all the Art of *Plato's Dialectica*, which one may easily collect from his Dialogues of *Cratyles*, of *Parmenides*, of *Protagoras*, of *Sophistry*, of *Euthydemes*, and of the *Politicks*, it is found in many places without order or connexion.

'Ti not to be doubted, but that *Plato* had knowledge of the three Operations of the Spirit; he has distinguished them in his *Sophist*: he knew without doubt the *Categories*, having seen the Work of that *Archytas*, who was *Pythagoras* his Scholar, and the first which writ of them But whatever *Alcinous* says, he never knew the form of a *Syllogisme*, nor the distinction of three Figures of Argumentation: *Aristotle* was the Author of them, as all wise men agree. Let us proceed to his Logick.

CHAP. I.

The Logick of Aristotle.

THe Logick of *Aristotle* is without doubt more distinct and more methodical then that of *Plato*; and though *Aristotle* made use of the Logick of *Zenon* of *Ælea*, who had writ three Books long before him, though he

had great helps from the *Dialectica* of *Euclide*, who was of *Megara*, and Scholar to *Socrates*; yet it is certain, that he better knew the matter of this Art, search'd farther into the depth of it, more cleared all its parts, and rancked them in better order then any of the Philosophers that writ before. It may be said, that *Archytas*, *Zenon*, *Euclide*, and *Plato* invented the matter of Dialectick, but that *Aristotle* alone gave it a form; and he may to his honour say, that he alone perfected the Syllogisme which the others knew not: 'Twas he in effect that invented the Art of perfect Demonstration, by shutting up the almost infinite capacity of the Soul of man within the bounds of three Operations, as within fixed limits, beyond which that Spirit (as free and independent as it is) cannot pass: 'Twas he likewise who found the Secret to rectifie these Operations, and compose the determinate matter for Syllogisme.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ συλλογίζεσθαι παντελῶς οὐδὲν εἴχομεν πρότερον λέγειν. Elench. c. ult.

In Dialectica nihil penitus ut ipsa testatur, Aristoteles *ab antiquis scriptum aut dictum erat*. Trapez. in comparat. Plat & Arist. lib. 1.

'Twas he, in fine, who reduced into three Figures which he invented, all the imaginable connexions of two terms, which compose the utterance with the common term, to establish the form of Demonstration, and a form always directly concluding by one Rule, which bears the

the character of Infallibility, as certainly as the demonstrations of the most exact Geometry. 'Tis in the fourth Chapter of the first Book of the *Analytick*, that he explains this new Art of the construction of *Syllogisme*; and 'tis by this wonderful Art that this Philosopher found the means to give the thought which is wholly spiritual, the same Rule that is imposed on quantity, which is wholly material, and to establish in the reasonings of a humane Soul, and in its operations, which are essentially free and contingent, an Infallibility parallel to that which is found in Geometrical Demonstrations, which are essentially necessary; a thing appearing to me so worthy of admiration, that I find nothing comparable to this Art in all the most wonderful productions of the Spirit of mankind; for what can be conceived more ingenious then that Invention of three Figures of *Syllogisme*, which form themselves from the divers scituation of two terms, with the common term of which it is composed; and what can be imagined more admirable then the certainty and evidence of the conclusion after the two Premises, when there is nothing vicious, neither in the matter nor the form.

In truth, when I reflect on the universal arrangement of *Aristotle*'s Logick, and that wonderful order of all the parts which compose it; when I examine the Cautions of this Philosopher in the general preparation of the matter he de-

ſigns for argument; that is the eſtabliſhment of the work in the moſt firm and ſolid manner the mind of man can form, and on a foundation the moſt intricate and moſt variable that can be imagined, that is thoughts and words; I am ſtartled at the greatneſs of the *Genius* that could conceive ſo prodigious a deſign. What could not he have done, who could give a character of Conſtancy and Conſiſtency to a thing ſo weak, feeble, and uncertain? This work impriſons difficulties that appear'd impoſſible to be ſurmounted; the ambiguity of words muſt firſt be removed to make a clear explication of what was equivocal, and what was not, by fixing the terms in their proper and natural ſenſe. 'Tis neceſſary to uncloud the confuſion of thoughts ordinarily darkening the mind by the multiplicity of *Idea's*, to unlooſe the folds and ravellings of the operations of the Spirit, to diſperſe the almoſt inevitable vexation of divers *Species* of Propoſitions particular, univerſal conditional, abſolute, complex, incomplex, affirmative, negative, mean, equivalent, and contradictory, to the end to accuſtom the Spirit to a Repreſentation naked and ſimple, that it may form objects to judge of things according as they are in themſelves. In ſhort, the diſguiſements and artifices of the underſtanding muſt be diſcovered, which are innumerable, to remedy all the defaults, and all the Illuſions of the Argumentation, and to bring to light the Falſities and Impoſtures of all the

Sophiſms,

Sophisms, and of all the Paralogismes imaginable.

Nor is this all; for this great man after having fully discovered what was most obscure, and most concealed in his mind; and after having confined to three Operations very simple, the infinity of the thought by the Art which he had invented; he likewise found the way to rectifie these three Operations in all the parts of his Logick; he has corrected the faults of the first in his Book of *Categories*, in which he teaches us to distinguish the *Idea's* of every thing, according to the natural order which the understanding should preserve to conceive them; he has reformed the defaults of the second Operation, which is the utterance, in his Book of the Interpretation, and in the Treatise of *Post predicaments*, and *Ante-predicaments*; where he explains the signification of Terms, and the Connexion, Contingent, or Essential of the one with the other. In fine, he redresses what is defective in the third Operation, in his Books of the *Topicks*, the *Analyticks*, and the *Sophismes*; and in these Books he establishes the Construction of three Syllogismes, the *Sophistick*, which causes errour; the *Dialectick*, which begets opinion; and the *Demonstrative*, which is the onely perfect Syllogisme, both for the quality of its matter and form, and which makes the Science. Thus all the whole design in *Aristotle's* Logick is directed to the same end, and all proceeds to

the eſtabliſhment of Demonſtration by Syllogiſme, which is the univerſal principle of all Sciences; for nothing can be aſſuredly known without this Art; for that we have not onely by Demonſtration a perfect certainty that the thing is, but likewiſe a perfect knowledge of the reaſon why it is, which is the eſſential fruit of all Science.

So that all other Logicks of all other Philoſophers, whether Ancient or Modern, are good no longer then they relate to that of *Ariſtotle*; and who ever examines them, ſhall find them defective in thoſe things wherein they agree not with his Logick, which ought to be the Rule of all other Logicks, being founded on the Art of Demonſtration. But is it certain that *Ariſtotle* is the true Author of this Art? I muſt confeſs, that to prepare the matter he was obliged to the Categories of *Archytas*, and *Ocellus*; that he learnt from *Democrates* and *Socrates* the uſe of Definition to arrive at this Art; that he had from the *Cratyles* of *Plato* the Diſtinction of Terms in their proper ſignification; that he took from the Dialogue of *Euthydemes* a part of the Obſervations he has made in the Book of *Sophiſmes*; that the firſt knowledge of the Method of Conſequences, and of all that captious Art of *Dilemma's* was derived to him from *Zenon Eleates*: That *Timæus* of *Locris* gave him the firſt *Idea* of a Syllogiſme, which was afterwards perfected by *Zeno*, as appears in the Co-

mentary

mentary of *Proclus* on th *Parmenides* of *Plato:* And that in fine he found th firſt tracks of Demon ſtrati n in the Propoſitions ev.dent of themſelves of *Timæus*, and *Theetetes*. But after all 'tis doubtleſs that *Ariſtotle* was th firſt Author of the form of Syllogiſme, and the method to rectifie perfectly the matter, by taking away the confuſion of thoughts, the equ.vocation of words, the artifice and diſguiſement of Propoſitions of which they formed the Sophiſmes. All the principal Interpreters of *Ariſtotle* are of this opinion; *Ariſtotle* owns it himſelf in the end of his books of his *Dialectica*; and *Cicero* declares it openly in the book of his Topicks.

Demonſtrandi viam rationemque certiſſimam quis unquam ante Ariſtotelem *explicavit* Tapezunt. lib. 1. de comp. Plat. & Ariſt. c 4. Ariſtoteles *dialecticæ artis universæ inventæ & perfectæ autorem ſe prædicavit* Ram. c 7. lib. 1. Schol dialec.

Amnon in Ariſt. vita. Philop cap 22. in Analyt. Alex. Aphrod ſimplic. Averhoes Theod Logic.

The difference then between the Logick of *Plato*, and that of *Ariſtotle* is, that that of *Plato* is diſperſed through his works without order, without deſign, without principles, and almoſt without method; and that of *Ariſtotle* is fully reduced to Rules, and eſtabliſhed very ſolidly in all its parts: And *Gaſſendus* had not poſſibly found it imperfect by the Supplement of *Porphyrius*, which he believed neceſſary to ſerve for

Introduction, if he had reflected, That this Treatise which is at the head of *Aristotle*'s Logick, is taken from his Metaphysicks, from whence *Porphyrius* extracted it; and it's probable this Supplement had been needless, had there been nothing lost of the books of *Aristotle*'s Logick, of which *Diogenes Laertius* makes mention. Proceed we to the Morals.

CHAP. III.

The Morals of Plato.

'Tis this part of Philosophy that teaches men to live well, as Logick teaches them to think well. *Socrates* was the first Author of the Morals, though *Æsop* had before his time given some Lessons that were very well received of the people, by reason of his pleasant art of Fables, which are yet in request: But there is nothing established in the Morals of *Æsop*, like that of *Plato*, which is an Art founded on Principles; of which see here the Abridgment collected from divers places of his Dialogue of *Phædon*, where he

Socrates *mihi videtur (quod constat inter omnes) primus à rebus occultis, & ab ipsa natura involutis, avocavisse Philosophiam ut de virtutibus & vitiis quæreret.* Cic. Tusc. lib. 1.

he treats of the Soul; of *Phileebus*, where he treats of Pleasure; of the *Banket*, where he describes Love; of *Phædra*, where he discourses of Good; of *Menon*, which is an Elogy of Virtue; of *Laches*, where he treats of Temperance; of the first *Hippias*, where he speaks of Honesty; of the second, where he speaks of Lying; of what he says of man in his first and second *Alcibiades*; and above all, in his Books of the Commonwealth, where he settles the principal Maximes of Morality, according to the opinion of *Marcellinus Ficinus*. It is in these Books particularly that he establishes the end of humane actions by he first principles of his Morals; for man cannot act according to the lights of reason without propoſing an end to his actions, which ought to be the motive and principle. The end of man (says he) in every act on is his good, and the utmost end of all his actions is his sovereign good; no other good can perfectly satisfie the capacity of his desires, which is infinite. The onely Sovereign Good (says *Plato*) is the Sovereign Being, because it comprehends all other good, and may be possest by the understanding, and the Will of man being (as it is) sovereignly inielligible, and sovereignly amiable: Virtue is the onely way in his opinion that can lead to the possession of this good, by subduing the motions of the appetite, which are its contraries; It is virtue, says he, that perfects a man by governing his endeavours

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in respect to God by Religion, and in respect to man by society and friendship: He distinguishes the divers species of Friendship; he counts Love among these species; he explains the effects of good or corrupt Love; the Love of the Husband towards the Wife, of the Father towards the Children, of the Citizen towards the Citizen, and the stranger; and in fine, that general Friendship which composes the chain of human Society, of which he makes a perfect *Idea* in his Books of the Commonwealth.

He observes likewise in the same place divers marks of that uprightness which is the true practice of civil Morality; he teaches the young *Alcibiades*, that a true upright man does not enough to be so, but he must not be exalted at any thing. Though he had the glory to make the most excellent Verses, and were Poet sufficient to resemble *Homer*; yet he vows he would not resemble him in this quality, which would become disgraceful; so soon as he expresst a desire of pretending to make himself considerable by so small a matter, he declares in his *Gorgias*, that he should not value to become Master of *Greece* by his Eloquence, as *Demosthenes* did by his, so long as he found that with that little Empire the Orator acquired a certain air of Usurpation, which he could not approve; so delicate was he in his Morals; and most certain it is, never were any Morals more upright then his, and more proper to form a true honest man.

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In the abridgment of his Laws he examines whether man may be ſovereignly happy, which is the end of all his Morals; and he concludes, contrary to the opinion of ſome Philoſophers of his time, that in effect he may be, otherwiſe the moſt natural and moſt ſincere of all his deſires would be falſe and unprofitable; but he acknowledges likewiſe that he cannot be perfectly happy in this life, whilſt the Body and the Soul, whoſe intereſts are different, are united together. He cannot therefore be happy till after death, when all men ſhould be puniſhed, or recompenced according to their conduct here, good or ill: In his Dialogue of *Gorgias* he ſpeaks of a Judge, who ſhall denounce the deſtiny of every man according to his merit: He treats very amply in the Tenth Book of his *Republick*, of the recompence and puniſhment of Souls after their death. In his *Phædon* he teaches that this life is onely a preparation to another more perfect; and that Philoſophy learns a man how to dye well, by learning him to be maſter of his deſires. This is in effect the whole courſe of the Morals which may be collected out of the Works of *Plato*, where it is every where ſcattered without order or connexion.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Morals of Ariſtotle.

THe morals of *Ariſtotle* are more ſimple to the truth, and ſeem leſs glorious then thoſe of *Plato*, but they are more ſolid, and more followed. See here the Abridgment reduced to Principles. In the ten books which *Ariſtotle* has writ to his Son *Nicomachus*; he ſeeks the ultimate end of man, which ſhould be true Felicity. After having concluded that there is one, he declares it is not neither pleaſures of the ſenſe, nor riches, nor other goods of the body, nor honours, nor virtue it ſelf, becauſe all theſe goods have relation to another good; *and true Beatitude* (ſays he) *is a good univerſally deſired by all the world, which we deſire for it ſelf, and for which we deſire all other goods.* This is the definition he gives of it; and as this good cannot be acquired but by virtue, he explains what that virtue is: *'Tis a habitude to do well, which conſiſts in a kind of mean found between the two extremities of vice.* He ſhews what this mean is in relation to Fortitude, to Juſtice, to Prudence, to Temperance, which are the

the principal virtues of his Morality: As for example, the mean of the virtue of Temperance governs grief and pleasure, and reduces the one and the other to a just temperament, which is virtue. There is too much weakness and softness in the too great love of pleasure, as there is too much in grief; Temperance moderates these two extreams, and becomes a virtue by tempering the one with the other: That done, he examines the nature of the action which carries a man on to virtue, which is a free operation of the will that determines of the choice it makes of good, which gives him occasion to describe at length what the will is, by the circumstance of action, free or constrained, voluntary or not voluntary; which is one of the finest Tracts of the Morals of *Aristotle*, because it explains all that has relation to the liberty, and all the œconomy of humane actions. From thence he passes to Fortitude and Temperance; he proposes the nature, and the effects of these two virtues; and on the occasion of Temperance he sets down all those virtues that are its dependants, and have riches or honours for their object: He says that the virtue which relates to the use of great riches, is Magnificence; that which relates to the use of meaner, is Liberality. The virtue which has relation to ordinary honours, is the desire of Glory; that which relates to extraordinary honours, is Magnanimity: And as Temperance is the rule of all virtues which

regard

regard ſociety, he expoſes them one after another: The firſt, which employs it ſelf to take away all obſtacles of commerce in a civil life, is ſweetneſt, eaſineſs, or manſuetude; the other virtues dependants on Temperance, which contribute to the rendring of ſociety ſecure, and agreeable, are candour, or ſincerity to govern the thoughts, affability to be the rule of our words, and civility to govern our actions.

Thus after having eſtabliſhed in the firſt part of his Morals the eſſence of private virtue, he eſtabliſhes in the ſecond civil virtue; he begins with Juſtice, whoſe nature he explains, and diſtinguiſhes its *Species*. He concludes his diſcourſe with explaining the natural right which is common to men and to beaſts; and the right of Nations, which is common onely to men, laying upon the one and the other the principal foundations of Juſtice: From thence he deſcends to virtues of the Underſtanding, and then to thoſe of the Will: Among the virtues of the Underſtanding he accounts Prudence for the moſt conſiderable, becauſe that alone begets right reaſon, without which there can be no virtue. The uſe of Prudence in a civil life is Policy, as in that of a private life 'tis Oeconomy; and the general object of this virtue is what ought to be done, and what ought not to be done, in the circumſtances of affairs that preſent.

He deſcends even to the explication of the diſpoſitions to, and the obſtacles of virtue, which

which are imperfect habitudes: He ſays that ſoftneſs and impatience are the obſtacles of virtue, as patience and moderation are the diſpoſitions to it; and addes, that grief and pleaſure are the ordinary matter of theſe habitudes which furniſhes an ample Subject to *Ariſtotle*'s Morals: For he reduces all to pleaſure or grief, which are the ordinary reſorts of the motions of the Soul, and the moſt univerſal principles of the Paſſions. He concludes this part which relates to Society, and which *Cicero* has ſo well explained in his Books *de Officiis*. By an admirable Treatiſe of Friendſhip, he explains the nature, the difference, the uſes of good and evil Fortune, and its neceſſity in the moſt ordinary action of man, which is his converſation; he obſerves the conduct ſhould be held in Friendſhip to improve it, and propoſes divers queſtions concerning it, to which he gives reſolutions. In fine, he concludes his Morals with Beatitude, which is the beginning and the end; and he deſcribes the nature of true Pleaſure, to make an *Idea* of Felicity; and though he acknowledges that virtue is the onely way to acquire it, yet he allows proſperity and riches may contribute much: And after having ſhewed that Sovereign Beatitude conſiſts in action, he concludes that there is a practical Beatitude, which is that of men; and one purely contemplative, which is that of the Gods.

In the two Books of the great Morals, he treats of the means to acquire virtue by goods, which

which he esteems the instruments of happines He distinguishes them into three sorts of good those of the Body, those of Fortune, and thos of the Mind: He then considers the habitud of the Soul, the principles of its operation and passing over again what he had said in h Ten Books, he draws several Characters of Ho nesty, of Adversity, and of Prosperity.

In fine; In his Seven Books to *Eudemes*, wh was his Friend, and had been his Scholar, h proposes three sorts of life; a life of Busines, life of Pleasure, and a life of Repose and Me ditation: He prefers the life of Business and Affair before the other two; he describes the virtue necessary to this busied life, and makes an Elogy of Virtue in general, which he calls with *Plato*, *The harmony of the Soul by the government of the passions*; and he speaks something of the Vices contrary to Virtue; which St. *Thomas* has explained more largely in his second book: And to finish his Moral Theology, he treats in his books of the Republick, and in those of Policy concerning Societies, and the Government of Commonalties, of Cities, of Estates, of Republicks, of Laws, of Deliberations, of Authority, of Peace, of War, of Seditions, of Customs and Taxes, of Commerce, of Arts, of the Duties of the Husband, of the Wife, of the Father, of the Children, of Servants, of Citizens, without forgetting any thing relating either to a civil or private life.

Thus

Thus the Morals of *Aristotle* are little different from those of *Plato* in their principles: For they both prescribe the same end to man, and the same means to arrive to it, which is Virtue; both the one and the other distinguish the Virtues, and define them in the general, and in the same way. The difference that may be alledged is, That the Morality of *Aristotle* is too humane, and too much confin'd within the bounds of this life; he hardly proposes any felicity to man then that of civil life. The Morals of *Plato* are more noble and elevated; they are a preparation to a life more pure and perfect; and he would make us believe in his first *Alcibiades*, That this life is a resemblance of the life of the gods. In which he infinitely surpasses *Aristotle*, as well as in the universal Idea which he forms of this beatitude, and all its circumstances.

Idem fons utrique eadem rerum expetendarum fugiendarumq; partitio. Cc. 1 quæſ. Acad.

Plato Ariſtotele *divinior in Moralibus.* Carp. in Alcin.

But after all this, whatever *Plato* has said of the beauty of Virtue, and the blackness of Vice, and of the punishment and recompence of good or evil actions, he has spoke it more like a declamer then a Philosopher; he supposes things without proving them; he would delight the mind without caring to convince it. Whilst *Aristotle* prefers nothing which he does not set-

tle before he ſpeaks of his ultimate end, he proves that there is one. He examines in what it conſiſts, and gives not his own opinion, before he has refuted the opinions of others: So that he clears all doubts, and eſtabliſhes his truths with an order, cleanneſs, and penitration that fills all his ſubject, and unravels all his matter. And ſpeaking in general, This Philoſopher lets fall from him in theſe works of Morality, ſuch ſparks of his light, and expreſſions of good ſence, as may well become Subjects of admiration to the wiſe, and to all ſuch as have the leaſure to make reflexions on them.

As for example, when he diſtinguiſhes in the Idea which he gives to a magnanimous perſon, the true brave from the falſe; the firſt never expoſes himſelf, ſays he, to great dangers, but for great things, as for his glory, for his Country, for his Prince, for his friend; nor does he then expoſe himſelf but with a great deal of Prudence and Circumſpection: On the contrary the falſe brave expoſes himſelf to all that has an appearance of danger in every ſlight occaſion inconſiderately and without caution; and is rather a Raſcall then a true brave man. He ſayes elſewhere, That ſhame-fac'dneſs which may be a Virtue in a young man, is a fault in an old man; becauſe there can be no reaſonable excuſe for it, but ignorance, which is a ſhameful

Lib. 3. c. 7. Ethic.

Lib. 4 cap. ult.

shameful one in an aged person; and though shame-fac'dness may serve for a Bridle to impudence, which is a Vice; yet be it as shame-fac'd as it will, it is it self no Virtue. He teaches in his fourth Book, That Choler or anger which may be a Virtue in a Souldier, is a Vice in a Captain; the one acts with his head, and the other with his hand; Anger is an assistant to one, and as hurtful to the other; nor ought this passion to be known to him that commands, but as a supplement to his Authority. He adds in the same place, That anger is a passion less unjust then incontinence; because anger always follows some appearance of reason; but incontinence is quite ignorant of it: He sayes, That the anger of a wise man is worse then that of a fool, as the fury of a Beast is less dangerous then that of a man; because that of a Beast is without Principle, Method or Design. *Cap. 8. lib. 4.*

He proposes towards the end of the second Book an admirable rule in what manner we ought to judge of things, which sometimes become very dangerous; because they are too pleasant. This Rule is taken from the example of the Counsel held by *Priam* in the *Iliades* of *Homer*, where it was deliberated what they should do with *Helen*, when the City of *Troy* was besieged by the *Greeks*. This Counsel praised the beauty of that Princess without being taken with it, and ordered, That

Ἐν παντὶ δὲ μᾶλιστα φυλακτέον τὸ ἡδύ. Ethic. 2.

ſhe ſhould be ſent into her Countrey without being touched. 'Tis thus ſayes *Ariſtotle*, we ought to judge of pleaſure, without expoſing our integrity, or ſuffering our ſelves to be corrupted; and 'tis thus we ought to ſhun without the leaſt reſentment one of the greateſt ſhelves and Rocks of humane life; for it is very difficult for man not to be ſenſible of pleaſure, being made ſo frail as he is.

He ſayes at the beginning of the third Book, That nothing is more ordinarily vexatious in deliberations of Morality, then to diſcern juſtly what to do between two honeſt and profitable things, and whether to follow the one or the other, As for example: If *Hypolitus*, urged by the ſolicitations and careſſes of his Mother in Law, ought to be ſilent and die, or elſe declare it; if he declare it, he diſhonours the Princeſs he loves; if he be ſilent, he diſhonours himſelf, and paſſes for a criminal with *Theſeus* his father. *Ariſtotle* concludes there is nothing ſo difficult as to know preciſely which part to take in theſe two ſo contrary extremities, where neither the one nor the other are contrary to honeſty. But nothing can be more honeſt, nor indeed more conſcientious then what he ſayes in the ſame place, That one ought to ſuffer, and how far one ought to ſuffer in the doing ones duty. 'Tis there likewiſe he propoſes, whether we may do any unjuſt thing, to deliver a friend or kinſman out of the hands of a Tyrant, and he governs

things

things in such a manner, that we may there find the true distinction, and natural order of duties, reduced to a a just dependance one on the other. The mean which he establishes between simplicity and cunning, in his treatise of prudence, that simplicity fall not into bestiality; nor industry into cunning and artifice, is a great Principle to know how to live in the world: He gives by this distinction the just temperament which composes the true goodness of heart and mind. He observes in the same place, That prudence is the rule of mans actions, as the Art is that of the Artificers. He observes in the treatise of friendship, That benefits and services reciprocally received from friends ought to be the consequences and effects of friendship, but ne er the cause. *Lib. 6. Eth c.*

But nothing appears to me in all *Aristotles* Morals of a more exquisite judgment, or profounder conception, then the observation he makes in the third Chapter of the seventh Book, where he teaches, that in the deliberations of of humane actions, 'tis the heart which deliberates, and not the spirit; and that the decision made is less taken from the lights of the understanding, then the motions of the will, whence it proceeds, that the sensual man in his reasonings prefers pleasure to honesty, because his heart is less affected with an honest then delightful good: The virtuous concludes the contrary; because 'tis more more conformable to his man-

Διὰ τὸ πάθος ἐκ τοῦ παθους, Ibid.

ners and desires. Thus every one judges things according as affection prompts them, and the will guids the understanding. And 'tis from this Principle arise all false reasonings of passion, and Interest, and the Sophismes of self-love are formed, under which all duties are submitted; 'tis likewise upon this Maxime that St. *Augustin* founds all the conduct of sensual and of spiritual love, on which all Christian Morality depends. *Aristotle* does better explain this Mystery in that place of the seventh Book, where he reduces the Principle of all the actions of man to pleasure and grief, which are the universal resorts of the passions. I have extended my self the longer on *Aristotles* Morals; because I look upon it as his Master-piece, and the disposing of these Morals, and reducing them to our manners, according to the natural order of matters, is in my judgment the best design of a book that can be Imagined. Now let us see their Physick.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Physick of PLATO.

THere is nothing into which the spirit of man hath less penitrated then the knowledge of nature: It seems as if God had delighted to place the world as the most glorious work of his Omnipotency, and at the same time hide from our eyes the secret resorts of this great Machine; Nature makes it self be perceived, but its ways are unknown, we see the effects, and are ignorant of the causes. The disputes of so many Ages, have hardly produced any accord, so that it seems as if the Object of Physick were a thing rather of opinion then knowledge; which is that doubtless which disheartened *Socrates*. *Plato* addicted himself more to it, drawn perhaps by the communication he had with the *Pythagoreans*, who proceeded farther in the knowledge of natural things, then any Philosophers that preceded them.

Though the Physick of *Plato* be scattered in divers places of his Dialogues, of *Critias*, of *Phædra*, of *Parmenides*, and of the great *Hippias*, yet it is most particularly contained in the *Timæus*. That Treatise establishes for the Principle

of all natural beings a matter and a form; he believes this matter to be eternal and uncreated, and he pretends that the form is only a pure participation of the Idea. Though there may be found in his works some footsteps of efficient and small causes; yet he reduces all things to the cause Ideal and Material, as *Aristotle* reproches *Plato* in his second book of Generation: He gives to this matter a quantity, as one of its essential properties, and he adds all those qualities purely accidental, as heat, coldness, drouth, moisture, lightness, weight, smell, colour, tast, and those others which cause the differences of mixt bodies. *Lib. 2. c. 2*

Besides these qualities he admits divers kinds of motions, the motion of alteration of increase of diminution, and the local motion; because these things follow the one the other, and have a necessary connexion. St. *Justin* in his advertisment to the Gentiles sayes, That *Plato* has three Principles in his Phylick, God, the Matter, and the Idea, which has some agreement with the three Principles, which Cardinal *Bessarion* attributes to him, which are the works that is made, the matter by which it is made, and the Model by which it is made. *Proclus* in his commentary on the *Parmenides* sayes, That *Plato* would have the union of the form, and the matter to be made by a certain Harmony, which is no other thing

then

then a mutual proportion of those two parts. These are the principles of the Physick of *Plato*, which this Philosopher has made more Mysterious, by his great affection to Geometry, which he has forced into all things, without managing his Subjects, or consulting the matter, with which *Aristotle*, if we may believe *Mazzonius* reproches him.

Mazzon. in Plat. & Arist. comparat.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Physick of Aristotle.

AS for *Aristotle* he established his Principles of Physick upon the overthrow of those of other Philosophers. *Melissus* the Scholar of *Pythagoras* taught, That the unity of one sole being, and its immobility, were the Principle of natural things. *Permenides* would have it to be Cold and Heat; *Democritus* judged it to be Substance and Vanity; *Anaxagoras* admitted a quantity, and a confusion of similary Principles; *Aristotle* refut s all these to establish that form and that matter he had taken from the *Pythagoreans*, to which he added privation for the third Principle, for the better comprehending the change that is made in Generation, which is a motion; the matter is the subject, the privation and the form are the two terms, and this motion has for principle the term of departure, which is the privation as well as the form: As for example, one cannot make a Pillar, if the matter of which it is to be made has not a privation from the form, which made *Aristotle* say, That *White could not be made, but of what was not White at first.*

Λεύκον ἐξ οὐ λεύκου, Phys. lib. 1.

So

So that his firſt Book of Phyſick, in which he lays down his Principles, is nothing in my mind but a pure Syſteme, ſerving only to make us comprehend the order of the Generation of natural beings. The ſecond book which treats of Cauſes, has ſomething more clear in my judgment, and likewiſe more real then the firſt. The diſtinction he makes of Art and Nature, of fortune and hazard with that admirable definition of nature, appears to me very ſolid and well conceived. That which he ſayes in the third book, and thoſe following, though ſomewhat confuſed to truth, and from the ordinary Method is yet well contrived. The definition of motion is obſcure at firſt ſight, but appears true and natural, when well conſidered. The treatiſe of the infinity in the fourth Chapter of the third book, is not in due place in the opinion of *Gaſſendus*. That which he ſayes of time and place in the fourth book, are great diſcourſes, and which contain all the moſt ſolid parts of Phyſick. He ſpeaks the ſecond time of motions in the following books, and ſeems again to tread over the ſame ground, and to reincounter himſelf.

Natura eſt principium motus & quietis. 2. Phyſic.

Actus entis in potentia, prout in potentia. Gaſſend. in execut. Phyſ.

Regarding then things in their Principles, the Phyſick of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* are not very different;

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Λεύκον ἐξ οὐ λεύκου, Phys. lib. 1.

So

So that his first Book of Physick, in which he lays down his Principles, is nothing in my mind but a pure Systeme, serving only to make us comprehend the order of the Generation of natural beings. The second book which treats of Causes, has something more clear in my judgment, and likewise more real then the first. The distinction he makes of Art and Nature, of fortune and hazard with that admirable definition of nature, appears to me very solid and well conceived. That which he sayes in the third book, and those following, though somewhat confused to truth, and from the ordinary Method is yet well contrived. The definition of motion is obscure at first sight, but appears true and natural, when well considered. The treatise of the infinity in the fourth Chapter of the third book, is not in due place in the opinion of *Gassendus*. That which he sayes of time and place in the fourth book, are great discourses, and which contain all the most solid parts of Physick. He speaks the second time of motions in the following books, and seems again to tread over the same ground, and to reincounter himself.

Natura est principium motus & quietis. 2. Physic.

Actus entis in potentia, prout in potentia. Gassend. in execut. Phys.

Regarding then things in their Principles, the Physick of *Plato* and *Aristotle* are not very different;

rent; for being both drawn from the same spring that is from the Physick of the *Pythagoreans* the most rational then known, they must need resemble each other. *Ocellus* was the the first author of the two Principles of the body of Physick, to express the change made in the Generation of the natural body by something it receives, and something that is received; but though the Principles of Physick are almost the same in these two Philosophers, for the composition of bodies, for their proprieties and their qualities, yet their manner of treating concerning them it very different: For *Plato* has treated of Physick very superficiously, and should we gather out of his works all that he has writ, it would make but a very succinct discourse, and not to be compared with the eight books of *Aristotle's* Physick, wherein is contained all that regards the Principles, and proprieties of the body natural in general.

Ocell. lib. de univ. c 2.

His particular Physick appears to me more neat, and more Methodical by the deduction of all the Species of the body natural, to which it descends, he begins with Heaven, the Stars, the Elements, the Meteors; and in those books of Meteors only explains more things of Physick, then all modern Philosophers together: For he runs on even to the little particularities of every thing, 'tis there that he sets down the manner of composing Metals, Bitumens, Salts, Stones, and all

that is formed within the boſom of the Earth; 'tis there he explains the difference of bodies by their exteriour Figures, hard or ſoft, rough or ſmooth; ſtubborn or flexible, brittle, malleable or fective; he ſpeaks of Concoction, Elixation, Colliquefaction, and Putrefaction of the ſame bodies; he examines likewiſe the divers opinions have been held concerning the Elements; if the fire burns by the motion of round parts, pointed or pyramidical, according to the opinion of the Philoſophers of theſe times, who make themſelves Authors of many things that *Ariſtotle* taught before them; as the weight of the Air, which he proves by the experience of a Bullet that weighs more when it is heated: And *Ariſtotle* is not miſtaken in his explication of the ſwiftneſs of weighty bodies, as *Gallilæus* and *Gaſſendus* have reproched him, who are themſelves deceived. In fine, he has taught the nature and differences of ſounds, with a proportion of all the conſonancies as diſtinctly as any of the moderns, who pretend to have found out ſomething new in that point. But when reflexion ſhall be made, it will appear, that all that has been ſaid by *Gallilæus* and *Des Cartes*, upon the divers vibrations of the Air, have been before obſerved by *Ariſtotle*.

I paſs over that excellent treatiſe he has writ of Colours, of Phyſiognomy, of Muſick, of Medicine, and an infinity of others, to ſpeak of his Hiſtory of Animals, which to me appears ſo wonderful:

wonderful: 'Tis true, that in this labour he drew great advantage, from the liberalities of *Alexander*: but beſides the induſtry uſed in this ſtudy, beſides the experiences made by himſelf on great quantities of Animals; he had likewiſe great care to ſearch into all that had been writ of this matter by Philoſophers, Phyſicians, Hiſtorians and Poets that preceded him, which may appear by the many quotations he makes of *Homer*, *Heſiod*, *Æſchylus* and *Euripedes*; he likewiſe ſometimes cites *Herodotus*, but 'tis to confute him; for he found little certainly in any thing he maintained. He from whom he drew moſt light in his Hiſtory of animals, was *Hyppocrates*, a great obſerver of the body of man; but yet he never names him; for which *Laurentius* in his book of Anatomy does with ſome reaſon blame him for ingratitude: For what this Philoſopher ſayes of the conſtruction of humane bodies, is taken in part from *Hypocrates*, not but that he has many things which were his own obſervations.

However it is to him we owe the order and the Method ſet down in ſo various and intangled a matter as this Hiſtory of Animals; nor is it a ſmall matter to have reduced all the ſpecies to certain kinds, to have comprized them in a natural, juſt and complete diviſion, which he gives us at the beginning of the Hiſtory, and to have eſtabliſhed general Maximes in the conſtitutions

of

of Animals, which paſs for infallible. 'Twas he that firſt believed that Bloud was made at the Heart, which has been rejected as an errour; but is in fine found true by experience. The Circulation of the Bloud was not unknown to him; for Doctor *Harvy*, the firſt of the Moderns that has writ of it, quotes a paſſage of *Ariſtotle*, to make it appear he was not ignorant of it. I muſt confeſs that progreſs of time has contributed to the perfecting this knowledge, and that experience has added many things to what *Ariſtotle* writ; but what vaſtneſs of Spirit was there neceſſary for the eſtabliſhing the Principles, and diſpoſing things into that order, wherein he has ranged them? What wonder to have found by Mechanical demonſtration the equilibrious motion in the flight of Birds, in the ſwimming of Fiſhes, and in the pace of Animals, which can neither be direct nor ſtraight, without a juſt counterpoiſe of all parts of the body? He has reduced to the Mechanical Rules, of which he was the firſt that writ, and that long time before *Archimedes* himſelf moſt admirable things, in the motion of natural bodies, in the equal weights of Liquors, and likewiſe in things Artificial, as in the guidance of Ships, and other great Machines; he firſt diſcovered by theſe Mechanical experiences, that the motion of every Animal is a mixture of agitation, and repoſe,

which

which ſucceed one the other in thoſe parts where the motion is made; which could not be without this alternation. I ſhould never make an end ſhould I enter into this whole Maſſe: Let us therefore finiſh this to examine the Metaphyſicks of theſe two Philoſophers.

CHAP. VII.

The Metaphyſicks of PLATO.

BEeſides that, *Plato* had learned the Metaphyſicks from *Hermogenes* the Scholer of *Parmenides*; he had ſo lofty and elevated a Spirit, and ſo ſtrong an inclination to the ſtudy of ſupernatural things, that all his other Philoſophy ſeems to reſign and bend to his Metaphyſicks; for where he mixes in his Dialogues any conſiderations of Morality, Phyſick or Policy, tis but upon occaſion, and as they relate to what he ſayes about the knowledge of intellectual things. The principal object of the Metaphyſicks is the Being in general, and the proprieties of that Being. Such were *Plato*'s thoughts: He acknowledges in his *Parmenides* an Eternal Being, which never was ingendred; and he finds in that Being

ing a goodness, which he calls, *The good by it self*, the first intendment, and the first life. *Proclus* distinguishes in *Plato* these three Principles, as three different beings; and *Plotinus* distinguishes them not at all, but assures us they are the same things, which gave the occasion to some of the primitive Christians, followers of *Plato*, to believe this Philosopher had a glimmering knowledge of the Trinity; but this distinction is purely natural, and bears no proportion with that great mystery, by reason of the inequality and dependance *Plato* puts between those three Principles. αὐτὸ ἀγαθὸν

He gives two proprieties to this Being, which he believes essential to it, to wit power and act; he joyns likewise the unity and infinity, which have relation to the act and power: And in the Dialogue of the Sophists, he recounts five attributes appertaining to the being, essence, motion, repose, identity, and diversity; which make the universal distinction of all beings. On these Principles he founds three sorts of gods, of which one are only purely intelligible, the next intellectual and intelligible, and the third purely intellectual. It would require a large discourse to examine so profound a speculation.

He sets down in his tenth Book of Laws two sorts of intelligences. The one good, and the other evil; it may be thought by the op-

ſition he places between theſe Spirits, and by the manner in which he lays it down, that he had ſome imperfect knowledge of the firſt Wa of the Angels. And we may find in divers place of his Dialogues, ſuch tracts of our myſteries that it was not without ſome ground, that the firſt fathers of the Church believed this Phi loſopher, to have been converſant with the Books of *Moſes*; and that ſo particular deduction of things of the other life, of which he ſpeaks in his *Gorgias*, in his *Protagoras*, and in his *Politicks*, made one of the Commentato of *Alcinous* ſay, That *Ariſtotle* muſt yield to *Pla* in the Metaphyſicks.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Metaphyſicks of Ariſtotle.

IN truth *Ariſtotle* is more plain and more natural in this part of Philoſophy, in which he ever mixes his Phyſicks; Senſe and Reaſon are his principal guids, and 'tis rarely that he ſurpaſſes any thing of natural knowledges; he would not concern himſelf to meddle with things he could not demonſtrate, which made him ſo circumſpect, as Cardinal *Beſſarion* obſerves in ſpeaking of ſupernatural things. Therefore after having refuted the opinions of ancient Philoſophers on the Principles, He examines if there be one: He proves it; becauſe the ſequel of effects and their cauſes, not being poſſible to be infinite, muſt needs be bounded by a firſt mover. This Principle being eſtabliſhed, he ſhews, That there is a Science which employs it ſelf to conſider the being, purely in quality of being; he examines the nature, the proprieties, the oppoſitions, and this Science is the *Metaphyſicks*; He finds out three Attributes, abſolutely inſeparable from the being, unity, goodneſs and truth, which agree eſſentially with all beings; He diſtinguiſhes

Beſſarion lib. 2. c. 4. *Contra Cælum.*

the being into act and power, finite and infinite, neceſſary and contingent, the ſame and different: And from theſe diſtinctions he makes divers orders of ſpecifical and particular natures, after having given certain notions of univerſal natures. This is what he explains in his firſt ſix Books; He begins in the ſeventh to raiſe himſelf to the knowledge of the firſt being, he proves that it muſt be a ſubſtance; and after having given an eſſential definition of ſubſtance, he explains the proprieties, the kind, the ſpecies, and the difference; He treats in the eighth and ninth books of ſubſtances, ſenſible and material; In the tenth he ſpeaks of the unity; In the eleventh he ſhews that univerſal natures, are the firſt Object of Science; After having diſtinguiſhed the diverſe attributes of the ſubſtance, in the twelfth, he ſpeaks of the firſt mover or firſt being, he concludes his Metaphyſicks, by the unity of that firſt mover, and by that of God; He ſpeaks likewiſe in the eighth Chapter of this laſt Book of the divinities of his Religion, as introduced by fables; but 'tis ſomewhat cloſely that he diſcourſes it, as not believing the people capable of ſuch truths. In the other two laſt Books which are ſcarce believed to be *Ariſtotles*; becauſe there are ſtrange rehearſals, there is a diſcourſe of nature immaterial, of Idea's, Rhetorick, Law, Politicks,

liticks, and Grammer; for these two great men have spoke of all things, and have given precepts to all conditions of Mankind, even the most mean and most Mechanical arts have not escaped their penitration; but even of those very Arts have *Plato* and *Aristotle* treated. as of Philosophy *Plato* makes appear a great Genius and height of Spirit in all he sayes, but he has no Principle nor Method in what he sayes, in which *Aristotle* is so exact. Never did Authour labour in so many matters, nor so well searched the depth of them; for there are above seven hundred fourty seven Volumes of works by him composed, if we may believe the number given us by *Franciscus Patricius* the *Venetian* Philosopher; but for my part I am content to be of the opinion of *Diogenes Laertius*, who counts us near four hundred; but the Criticisme of the number of the works of *Aristotle* only is too infinite to be discussed; it suffices that we know that more then fifty Authours would have merited immortality by the writings of him alone; so great is their number, and their value so extraordinary: And it seems that nothing can be added in the Sciences, nor any thing be writ, either solid, exact or regular, unless it conform to the precepts he has given in his Books. After all this, why should any adventure to prefer to this great man those modern Philosophers, who have only gain'd what reputation they have in the world by his Physicks?

In discuss. Peripat.

the being into act and power, finite and infinite, necessary and contingent, the same and different: And from these distinctions he makes divers orders of specifical and particular natures, after having given certain notions of universal natures. This is what he explains in his first six Books; He begins in the seventh to raise himself to the knowledge of the first being, he proves that it must be a substance; and after having given an essential definition of substance, he explains the proprieties, the kind, the species, and the difference; He treats in the eighth and ninth books of substances, sensible and material; In the tenth he speaks of the unity; In the eleventh he shews that universal natures, are the first Object of Science; After having distinguished the diverse attributes of the substance, in the twelfth, he speaks of the first mover or first being, he concludes his Metaphysicks, by the unity of that first mover, and by that of God; He speaks likewise in the eighth Chapter of this last Book of the divinities of his Religion, as introduced by fables; but 'tis somewhat closely that he discourses it, as not believing the people capable of such truths. In the other two last Books which are scarce believed to be *Aristotles*; because there are strange rehearsals, there is a discourse of nature immaterial, of Idea's, Rhetorick, Law, Politicks,

liticks, and Grammer; for these two great men have spoke of all things, and have given precepts to all conditions of Mankind, even the most mean and most Mechanical arts have not escaped their penitration; but even of those very Arts have *Plato* and *Aristotle* treated. as of Philosophy *Plato* makes appear a great Genius and height of Spirit in all he sayes, but he has no Principle nor Method in what he sayes, in which *Aristotle* is so exact. Never did Authour labour in so many matters, nor so well searched the depth of them; for there are above seven hundred fourty seven Volumes of works by him composed, if we may believe the number given us by *Franciscus Patricius* the *Venetian* Philosopher; but for my part I am content to be of the opinion of *Diogenes Laertius*, who counts us near four hundred; but the Criticisme of the number of the works of *Aristotle* only is too infinite to be discussed; it suffices that we know that more then fifty Authours would have merited immortality by the writings of him alone; so great is their number, and their value so extraordinary: And it seems that nothing can be added in the Sciences, nor any thing be writ, either solid, exact or regular, unless it conform to the precepts he has given in his Books. After all this, why should any adventure to prefer to this great man those modern Philosophers, who have only gain'd what reputation they have in the world by his Physicks?

In discuss. Peripat.

ſicks? whoſe Syſteme hath nothing of new but a pure order given to the opinions of *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, and ſuch like: But we need not wonder at the falſeneſs of this judgment, the Spirit of man is of ſuch a compoſition, that it is leſs affected with the greatneſs of things, than their novelty; in which we appear like Children, whom great things move no, becauſe they cannot comprehend them; but who are pleaſed with baubles ſo long as they ſeem new to them.

I will conclude this my third part with two reflexions on the excellency and utility of the Doctrine of theſe two great perſons: For the excellence it is obſervable, that not only the Logick and Morals of *Plato* are leſs ſolid then thoſe of *Ariſtotle*, as I have already ſaid; but that *Ariſtotle* hath carried both the one and the other to ſuch a degree of perfection, that nothing can be added: for in his Logick he has given us the Art of correcting all the errours of the thought, of diſſipating all the falſe lights of the Spirit, and preventing the natural precipitation of judgment, to make a juſt diſcernment between true and falſe; and thus his Logick is perfect, which he was as ſenſible of as any, it being the only work on which he valued himſelf; he quotes in his Morals and Phyſick the Philoſophers that were

Ariſtoteles in Phiſicis & Ethicis, Phiſicos & Ethicos Philoſophos permulto appellavit, in Logico Organo neminem Logicæ Doctorum citavit. Ram. c. 7. l. 1. Schol dialec.

aſſiſtant

aſſiſtant to him; but in his Logick he quotes none; he has likewiſe ſo diſtinctly explained all the motions of the heart of man, and the end and motives of all his actions, that his morals as well as his Logick ſeem to reach the top of perfection; nothing can be added neither to the one or the other, unleſs perhaps ſome order be wanting to ſet forth their beauty by a more natunatural diſtribution of the parts. For his Phyſicks I believe it only imperfect, where the matter is in fault, which might be better known and ſearched into, were it leſs uncertain; for we cannot find out the depths of nature, which are ſo obſcure, and make what boaſts we will of having done it, we ſtill are ignorant; but of all Phyſicks the moſt reaſonable and beſt founded is that of *Ariſtotle*, all the world poſſibly will not think ſo; but 'tis particularly on this part of Philoſophy that the wiſe man has ſaid, *That God had abandoned the knowledge of the world to the diſputes of men*: I acknowledge that this part is not raiſed to its full height; but may admit farther perfection. The Metaphyſicks are a bundle of Principles rather then of precepts, of the knowledge of natural beings, looſned from the matter: It cannot be made more accompliſhed but by an order more diſtinct; things being diſpoſed in the moſt perfect manner imaginable, to take away the con-

Tradidit mundum, diſputationi eorum. Eccl.

fusion natural to Idea's by the distinction of term and their attributes. St. *Thomas* gives it worthy Elogies; *Aristotle* calls it his first Philosophy; because it is as it were a preparation to Logick, on which all Sciences are grounded; for without Logick we can think nothing right; and the most essential fault of those who undertake either writing or speaking, is the want of it. *Aristotle* in his sixth Book of the Metaphysicks attributes all the errours of the ancient Philosophers to their ignorance in Logick.

Πρώτη φιλοσοφία.

The benefit to be reaped by the Doctrines of *Plato* and *Aristotle* is great, by conversing *Plato* we gain that fertility of imagination, and that beauty of conception, which is the mother of Eloquence, and of all that is graceful in learning; and the reading of *Aristotle* begets judgment by the justness it imprints in the thoughts all whose errour it corrects. *Plato* Creates Orators and Poets by converse with him. The Method he has to explain things by their Ideas and to tell them not as they are, but as they ought to be; and which he took from *Homer*, is that made all the great men of his time and since. 'Tis on this model that *Eurypedes*, *Sophocles*, *Demosthenes*, *Hyperides*, *Eschines*, *Demades*, *Lysias*, *Pindar*, *Carneades*, *Cicero* and *Virgil* were formed; For they were all *Platonists*; As 'tis the Method of *Aristotle*, that did make *Theophrastus*, *Philoxenes*, *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, *Gallus*, *Boetius*,

Boetius, *Avicenna*, *Averroes*, *Alexander*, *de Ales*, St. *Thomas*, and all that have been solid in the great Sciences. They therefore are much mistaken, who seek models elsewhere then in these two Authors, to succeed in Learning, or make any reasonable progress in their Studies, which for the most part are without success; only because they are not well studied, 'tis possible it will be difficult to undeceive men among such numbers of modern Philosophers, who believe the Philosophy of *Aristotle* too ancient for Spirits *a la mode*, and think they may grow wise without conversing either *Plato* or *Aristotle*.

The End of the Third Part.

THE OPINIONS OF THE Wise Men of all Ages. UPON THE DOCTRINE OF PLATO and ARISTOTLE. AND THE Divers Adventures of their Sects.

The Fourth Part.

CHAP. I.

The adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of Plato *till the coming of our Saviour.*

AFter the death of *Plato*, *Speusippus* succeeded him in his School he followed his opinions, but strayed from his conduct, his manners answered not his Doctrine; for he let loose the Reins to pleasure; so that the Sect of *Plato* made little progress during the eight years that *Speusippus* taught,

in the Academy, by reason of his avarice, he turn'd away Scholers by the great recompences he demanded; and that so much the more, because *Plato* his predecessor had treated them in a more honest and disinteressed manner.

Xenocrates after *Speusippus* death took the place, there was no agreement in their manner of teaching; he endeavered to deserve the esteem of the people by his honesty: *Alexander* sent him Presents, which he generously refused, thereby doing more honour to the Doctrine of *Plato*, then ever his predecessor had done; being addicted to decisions he could not accommodate himself to the manner of *Socrates*, who too much distrusted his own Reason; but pitch upon *Aristotles* way of establishing upon Principles, whateyer he preferred. *Polemon* kept the School after him, his way of living was very dissolute, and he a great debauch; but he grew reformed by reading a discourse of *Xenocrates* upon Temperance. *Valerius Maximus* recounts the Story, St. *Austin* makes mention of this adventure, And *Lucian* playes with it in his ordinary way. *Crates* and *Crantor*, who followed him in School of *Plato*, changed nothing of his Doctrine. *Arcesilas*, who succeeded them, reformed something by re-establishing the method of *Socrates*, which was in a manner left off, and by this reformation he founded the second Academy.

Val Maxim. lib. 6. Hist.

Aug. Epist. 130

Lucian in Bissavus.

Zenon,

Zeno, who was afterwards the chief of the *Steicks*, had ſtudied under *Polemon*, with *Arceſilas*. *Zenon* had a ſubtile Spirit, and profeſſed to oppoſe the opinions of *Plato*; this oppoſition fixed *Arceſilas* the more earneſtly to the Doctrine of *Socrates*, and obliged him likewiſe to conceal under new Myſteries the true opinions of *Plato* to make them more valluable.

Mos Socratis *cum a poſterioribus non eſſet retentus* Arceſilas *eum revocavit*. Cic. 2. de fin.

Arceſilas *ignorantiæ Magiſter cum* Zenoni *obtrectaret, autore* Socrate *ſuſcipit hanc ſententiam, un nihil ſciri poſſe ſtatuerit* Laccanct. lib. 3. c. 6.

Philoſophy was now ſtudied with great eagerneſs in *Athens*, from whence ſprung up the ſeveral Sects of Philoſophers, of which the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans* were the chief; and as there are ſome Spirits naturally free, and others naturally ſlaves, every one took part according to his Genius, and and put himſelf at the head, or in the train of one of their Sects, which divided the beſt Spirits of all *Greece*; and afterwards of the whole Vniverſe; but the opinions of *Zeno* and *Epicurus* were moſt cryed up, by reaſon of their novelty; and by their means the progreſs of the Sect of *Plato* was for ſome time interrupted.

ZENO.

Senserunt hoc Stoici qui servis & mulieribus Philosophandum esse dicebant. Lact lib. 3. inst. cap. 23.

Zeno was of *Cyprus*, he drew after him many followers, by receiving all sort of persons into his School, and by teaching that all the world was capable of his Philosophy, he taught in the *Portico* of *Athens*, which the Pictures of *Polygnotes* had made so famous, whence his Scholers were called *Stoicks*, though he fiercly declared himself against the Academy, yet he held many of their opinions; he taught a kind of *Metempsuchosis* of the Soul, and a reminiscence of the mind, like to that of *Plato*; he gave nothing to opinion, that he might not leave his wise man in an uncertain Estate. Virtue was the Sovereign good in his Morals, he upheld his reputation by the purity of his manners, and the frugality of his life. But nothing more recommended his Philosophy in its progress then that constancy he inspired into his followers in the extremity of affairs, which appear'd in the Adventures of *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Cassius*, *Petus*, and other such persons who were *Stoicks*. *Antigonus* the successor of *Alexander* in *Macedon*, touched with admiration at the Virtues of *Zeno*, sent him a very civil Letter, desiring to be admitted into his Sect. The *Athenians* gave him very great honours; *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt* sent an expres Ambassador to assure him of his esteem: In short, this Philosopher was migh-

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ty famous in his beginnings. But the virtue which *Zeno* taught was so false in the most part of its Maximes; the pride he conceived to make man become equal to God appeared so vain, and the Idea of his wise man so full Chimera, that it became ridiculous; and *Cicero* does rally very pleasntly on it in divers parts of his works, and especially in his *Tusculans*, where he relates the pleasant account that *Pompey* one day gave him of the Philosopher *Possidonius*. *Pompey* came to visit him in his School passing by *Rhodes*, on his return from the *Mithridatick* War. This Philosopher was then very much tormented with the Gout; but the occasion to let a *Roman* and a Conquerour see the Idea of Stoical virtue, gave him courage to make him a discourse from his bed of the beauty and excellency of his Morals. The pain was so grievous to him while he was endeavoring to speak, that he could not so well counterfeit, but *Pompey* perceived it, and the pride of that Philosopher appeared to him the more contemptible, the more he affected to act the brave, defying his distemper with these words. *'Tis in vain pains that you assault me, I will never confess you to be an evil.* The opinions of *Egesias* and *Theodorus*, who were of this Sect, and who taught that the wise man was made only for

Hoc mihi Philosophia promittat, ut me Deo parem faciat. Sen. Ep. 48.

Nil agis dolor nunquam te malum confitebor. 2 Tuscul. Plin. l. 7. c. 30.

for himself, and that he ought nothing, neither to his Countrey nor Relations, appeared so extravagant, that it much cryed down their party, yet were there many great persons who followed it, as *Cleantes*, *Chrysippus*, *Panetius*, *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Seneca*, *Epictetus*, *Arrian*, and many others, who have done honour to this Doctrine; but *Plutarch* drew upon him the scorn of all honest people, when he discovered the falsity of this morality, in his discourse he writ against the Stoicks.

EPICURUS negat quemquam jucundè posse vivere, nisi idem justè vivat. Cic. 5. de fin.

EPICURUS rose up about the same time, and taught as well as *Zeno* the love of Virtue; but that only for the pleasure of it, and in that pleasure he comprended that of the Sense, as well as that of the Soul, maintaining that a wise man could not be happy if he enjoyed not all pleasures mankind was capable of; but he explained not himself openly on that part, relating to the pleasure of the Sense, least he might create an ill opinion of his Doctrine; and by this management he gave occasion to the raising afterwards of divers opinions upon his true conceptions, which some have believed to be Innocent. 'Tis most true he was a very wise and discreet debauch, who gave not himself up to pleasure,

Animi voluptates & dolores nasci fatetur è corporis voluptatibus & doloribus. Cic. 1. de fin.

pleaſure, but by Art and Method; but in the whole, let what will be ſaid of him, he had very little Religion, one Maxime he held, not to trouble the peace of his mind with the fear of the Gods, he did not in outward appearance deny there were Gods, for fear of oppoſing the general opinion of the *Athenians*, who were very zealous in their Religion; but in effect he did not believe there were any. He took from *Democritus* the Principles of his Phyſick, and from *Ariſtippus* thoſe of his Morals, and me thinks *Lucretius* miſtakes a little, when he praiſes *Epicurus* for having opened the barriers of nature, which were opened long time before him, for except the declenſion of Atoms, with a motion of weight, which he added to the Philoſophy of *Democritus*, he found outnothing new in the Phyſicks; though he inclined much to them as to a help, he judged neceſſary to a wiſe man againſt ignorance; for Ignorance is ever capable of raiſing diſturbances in the mind; but he deſpiſed Logick and other Sciences, as uſeleſs to the ſweetneſs of life, though after all, his Logick is in all parts of it very fine. The people followed the Doctrine of the *Stoicks*, who refuſed none, and perſons of quality fol-

Epicurus Deos verbo poſuit re ſuſtulit. Cic.

Confringere ut arcta naturæ primus portarum clauſtra cupiret. Lucr. lib 1.

De Epicuro qui cæteras diſciplinas fugit nihil moror. Fab. lib. 11. cap. 18.

lowed the Doctrine of *Epicurus*, distinguish ing themselves from the common sort by th Doctrine, so that the number was for *Zeno*, an the merit for *Epicurus*.

The emulation bred between these two Sect was great; the *Stoick* cried down the Doctrin of *Epicurus* as too sensu al; nor was there an thing thenceforth spoken injuriously of the Sect in which the *Stoicks* had not a part; but in recompence the *Epicureans* treated the *Stoick* with abundance of scorn, and looked upon them as meer wretches. This so great animosity be tween them opened again a free course for the Doctrine of *Plato*, though it were not altoge ther so much *a la mode* as the other two Sects.

Inter Stoicos & Epicuros Sectam secutos pugna perpetua est. Fab. l. 5. c. 7.

Cicero, who knew very well the Successors of *Plato*, says nothing of that *Bion*, whom *Diogenes* would have to be Successor of *Arcesilas*, and who became famous for the sharpness of his Sa tyrs in the judgment of *Horace*; however it were *Lacydes*, *Evander*, and *Hegesmus* succeeded one after another in the time of the heighth of the *Stoicks*, and *Epicureans*. This *Lacydes* was the chief of the new Academy with *Carneades*, who came some time after him, and who em braced part of his Opinions: 'Tis true, he re mitted something of the rigour wherewith *Ar cesilas* had perplexed the Doctrine of *Plato*; for

Hor. epist. 11. *lib.* 2.

Arcesilas

Arceſilas eſteemed nothing certain, no, nor nothing true in Nature. *Carneades* taught afterwards, that things ſenſible and material, were as it were the ſhadow of truth; by which at leaſt he acknowledges that there was a probability.

This Philoſopher being ſent with *Critolaus*, and *Diogenes* in Embaſſie to *Rome*, about the affair of *Oropus*, under the Conſulat of *P. Scipio*, and *Marcellus*, did ſo much aſtoniſh the Senate of *Rome* by the force of his Eloquence, that as ſoon as he was heard, *Cato* the Cenſor was of advice to ſend him away immediately; for he would ſo dazle their underſtanding with his diſcourſes, that after he had ſpoke, there would be no way left to diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood; and the Senators complained, if we may believe *Ælian*, *That that Philoſopher came to do them violence in the very Senate-houſe by the force of his reaſons.* *Cicero* gives great praiſe to this man, when he ſays, That *he perſwaded whatever he pleaſed.* Never was there any perſon that had a greater Talent of perſwading then *Carneades*; and the Profeſſion he made at *Rome* to follow the Doctrine of *Plato*, did much augment its reputation. *Clitomachus*, *Philon*, and *Antiochus*, who were *Cicero*'s Maſters, were Succeſſors to *Carneades*, and made this Doctrine yet more conſiderable in the ſame place by the

fame they acquired it: For when *Scipio* and *Lælius* had begun to inſpire into the *Romans* an inclination to Learning, and a deſire to grow wiſe, all the people of quality went to ſtudy Philoſophy at *Athens* under thoſe great men who then taught there: 'Twas this likewiſe that inclined *Cicero* to the Doctrine of *Plato*, to which he gives many praiſes in his Works; and though he made no profeſſion of fixing himſelf to any one Sect, he agreed however with that Incomprehenſibility, which *Plato* and his Succeſſors had eſtabliſhed, and acknowledges, that nothing could be known with a perfect certainty; and yet he was perſwaded, that though we cannot be aſſured of any thing, yet we ſhould not let paſs a principle of Probability, which is the chief foundation of all deliberations made in the ordinary affairs of life. But nothing won *Cicero* more to the Doctrine of *Plato*, then the advantage he found in it of advancing Eloquence, which was his higheſt paſſion: And in truth *Cicero* gained that air of Eloquence, which ſo raiſed

Nihil percipi poſſe dicamus. Cic. off. 2. De finib. 2. quæſt. Tuſcul.

Deus noſter Plato Ep. ad Quen frat.

Plato *mihi unus inſtar omnium.* De Clar. Orat.

Platonem *authorem ego vehementer ſequor.* Lib. 1. Ep. Fannius.

his

his reputation, from the reading of *Plato*, and converſing with thoſe of that Sect which were his Maſters. *Suidas* reports, that *Harpocraton*, who was of *Argos*, and a great *Platoniſt*, taught this Philoſophy to *Julius Cæſar*, in thoſe Conferences he had with him, and by thoſe two Volumes he writ of the Opinions of *Plato*: Though *Plutarch* aſſures us, that Prince in thoſe vaſte thoughts inſpired his ambition, followed more the Morals of *Epicurus*, not concerning himſelf much with Religion, with which he was little affected. *Brutus* in the opinion of the ſame *Plutarch*, was once addicted to the Doctrine of *Plato*; but he forſook the opinions of the new Academy to follow thoſe of the old, by the Counſel of *Antiochus*, who was *Cicero*'s Maſter. And it was this ſame Philoſopher who ſome time afterwards turned *Brutus* Stoick, being himſelf become ſo after having been an Academian, as *Cicero* obſerves. This was the eſtate of the Sect and Doctrine of *Plato* to the time of the firſt Emperors of *Rome*; ſo that this Doctrine had ſpread it ſelf in *Greece* and *Italy*, not onely by the merit of thoſe who profeſſed it, as I have ſaid before, but likewiſe by the Copies of *Plato*'s Works, which multiplied extreamly during this progreſs of years, and were got into the hands of almoſt all knowing men. I have ſaid no-

Plut. in Cæſar.

thing of the Sect of *Pyrhomans*, or *Sceptiqus*, though it were purely formed out of the Doctrine of *Plato*, in the time of the Reformation made by *Arceſilas*, and *Carneades*, becauſe *Plutarch* has writ a large Treatiſe to ſhew the difference between this Sect and the *Platoniſts*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of Ariſtotle, *till the coming of our Saviour.*

THe Doctrine of *Ariſtotle* remained in almoſt utter obſcurity, during the time that that of *Plato* became ſo flouriſhing in *Greece* and *Italy*, which were then the onely Countreys where Learning was in any reput. *Theophraſtus* the faithful Scholar of *Ariſtotle* was his Succeſſor in the *Lyceum*; never was Scholar more worthy of the Friendſhip of ſuch a Maſter, whoſe ſpirit he fully poſſeſſed. 'Tis ſaid that *Ariſtotle* could not reſolve to publiſh his Writings out of the reſpect he had for *Plato*, becauſe he oppoſed his Opinions in many things: But there was in this management more policy then virtue; for he well foreſaw, that the minds of men were then too much prepoſſeſſed in favour of *Plato*'s Doctrine; therefore to keep his Writings concealed, he intruſted them to *Theophraſtus*, expreſly prohibiting their making publick, which was exactly obſerved; So that *Theophraſtus*, who was his Truſtee, *Straton*, *Lycon*, *Demetrius*,

trius the *Phalerian*, and *Heraclides*, who succeeded one after another in the *Lycæum*, taught onely the Doctrine of *Aristotle* by pure Tradition; but this Tradition not being supported by any Writings, became cold and feeble in progress of time, and shew'd nothing of that life and flame appeared in the other Sects. *Epicurus* invented many slanders of *Aristotle* to cry down his Doctrine, though *Athenæus* believe it not; because *Cephisodorus* and *Eubulis*, who evil intreated him in whole Volumes, make no mention of it. But the Writings of *Aristotle* had an adventure so strange after *Theophrastus* death, by *Strabo*'s report, that it will be convenient to declare the progress, and observe all the circumstance, to set forth well the causes of the silence of *Aristotle*'s Doctrine in those ages when *Plato*'s made such noise.

Athen. l. 8.

Strab. l. 13.

Theophrastus to obey exactly the orders of his Master, did at his death intrust to the dearest of his Friends and Scholars the Writings of *Aristotle*, with the same conditions had been imposed on him: This Friend was called *Nelæus*, who was of *Scepsis*, a City of *Troas*, and who died soon after; yet not without letting his Heirs understand the value of the trust he left them; and they apprehended it so well, that understanding that the King of *Pergamus*, on whom the City of *Scepsis* depended, made great search for Books and Writings to compose a Library,

Library, they buried in a Vault built on purpose the Writings of *Aristotle* for their better security. This so precious Treasure lay concealed in that secret place for the space of near One hundred and sixty years; from whence it was in the end taken out half worm-eaten, and almost all spoiled with the moisture of the place where they had hid it: And it was now onely taken out to be sold very dearly to a rich Citizen of *Athens* called *Apellicon*, who had a fancy to become considerable by amassing together a great number of books, though he had no *Genius* for the Sciences, as *Strabo* observes. The Professors which then taught in the *Lycæum* having understood it, made their address to this Citizen, who for some time lent them these Writings, but had them after restored and placed in his Library, which became famous by so excellent an addition. Some years after *Sylla* having made himself Master of all *Greece*, and having took *Athens*, understood that there was nothing in that whole City more precious, then those Writings of *Aristotle* which *Apellicon* had in his Library, whereupon he made them be taken thence, and carried to *Rome*. But that ambition which possessed *Sylla* to make himself Master of the Commonwealth, gave no leasure to think of letting the *Romans* know the Treasure he had brought from *Greece*. He died soon after, and these Writings fell into the hands

φιλόβιβλος, ϗ φιλόσοφος. Ibid.

hands of a Grammarian named *Tyrannon*, who had got knowledge of them by the acquaintance he had with *Sylla*'s Library-keeper. Though this Grammarian were a very able man, and had erected a Library of above Thirty thousand Volumes, since *Lucullus* had taken him in the *Mithridatick* War, and brought him to *Rome*, yet he knew not the Value of *Aristotle*'s Works.

But after his death *Andronicus* the *Rhodian* being come to *Rome*, and understanding very well the merit of *Aristotle*, as having been bred in the *Lycæum*, he treated with the Heirs of *Tyrannon* for these Writings; and having got possession of them, applied himself with so much earnestness to examine and understand them, that in some sort he was their first restorer, as *Porphyrius* assures us in the life of *Plotyn*, for he not onely supplied what was spoiled by the length of time, and by the negligence of those had had them in their hands; but he likewise reformed that strange confusion in which he found them, and caused them to be copied. 'Twas this *Andronicus* who begun to make *Aristotle* known in *Rome*, about the time that *Cicero* had by the greatness of his reputation raised himself to the highest charges of the Commonwealth; and who being returned some time before from a Voyage into *Greece*, having there conversed with the most able men of the Country, he had likewise heard what *Aristotle* was, and had

had underſtood a part of his merit, who was ſcarce then known at all at *Rome*, as appears by the Surprize of *Trebatius*; who coming to viſit *Cicero* at his houſe at *Tuſculum*, and going with him into his Library, he took up by chance the Book of *Ariſtotle*'s Topicks, of which *Cicero* had a Copy: *Trebatius* asked him what that Book was, and of what matter it treated? For though he was not ignorant, yet he had never heard ſpeak of *Ariſtotle*. *Cicero* made anſwer, that it was no wonder, *for that Philoſopher was known but to very few people.*

Quod quidem minime ſum admiratus eum Philoſophum Trebatio non eſſe cognitum, qui ab ipſis philoſophis prater admodum paucos ignoretur. Topic. nu.

As for *Plato*, he was then known to all the world; for before the taking of *Athens* by *Sylla*, there was no Philoſophy taught publickly at *Rome* but that of *Plato*, and the *Stoicks*: That which they tell us of *Cratippus*, who in the time of *Cicero* taught the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle* in *Mitylene*, is not conſiderable, nor could he teach it but by Tradition: Tis therefore no wonder if *Cicero*, and the Authours of that time, gave the advantage to *Plato* over *Ariſtotle*; the reputation of the firſt was full grown, and that of the ſecond was onely in its Infancy; it is true, that *Athenæus* pretends that there was a Copy of the Works of *Ariſtotle* in that Famous Library of the Kings of *Ægypt*, which was begun

gun by *Philodelphus* the Second of the *Ptolomies*, after the death of *Alexander*. I acknowledge that *Aristotle* might let some of his Writings escape him, as *Alexander* reproched him; but there is no likelihood that all his Works were in this Library; besides that, there is no Record that any person learnt knowledge by this way: So that it may with truth enough be said, that *Aristotle* was little known to the time of *Augustus*, and that *Plato* was very much. And indeed the *Romans* addicted themselves then much less to become great Philosophers, then to be excellent Oratours; for Eloquence was then the only means to raise men to high and considerable Charges. Philosophy was onely in use, for the Morals of which they formed a Religion to reduce men to their Duties in relation to the Gods, and men.

ut homo per philosophiam cultum deorum, & religionem susciperet. Cic. 1. de leg.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of Plato *in the first Eight Ages after the coming of our Saviour.*

THe Reputation of *Plato* being so much the firmer established at *Rome* by *Cicero*'s approbation of his Works, particularly in his Academicks, it continued so under the Empire of *Augustus*, and under that of *Tiberius*, which was a time favourable to Letters, and Learned men; though *Tiberius* did unjustly put to death *Thrasillus* the *Platonist*, a man of universal knowledge. *Philon* the Jew, whom St. *Jerome* calls in his Epistles a second *Plato*, gain'd much credit to this Doctrine under the Empire of *Caligula*, and *Claudius*; the affairs of his Countrey having then brought him to *Rome*, where he lived under those two Emperours. *Seneca*,

Thrasyllus *multarum artium scientiam professus postremo se dedit Platonicæ Sectæ.* Schol. Juven. in Sat. 6.

Quid loquar de Philone *quem alterum* Platonem *critici pronunciant.* Hier. epist. ad mag. orat. Rom.

neca, who was the Ornament of *Nero*'s Court, gave ſplendour to the Philoſophy of the *Stoicks*, which he profeſſed; through *Dion* of *Bythinia*, and *Moderatus* of *Cadis*, and ſome other *Platoniſts* the particular Doctrine of *Plato*, to which the honeſt ſort of people applied themſelves in natural things; though the moſt followed the Morals of *Epicurus*, which beſt agreed with their tempers.

About this time St. *Paul* being come to *Athens* to preach the Doctrine of *Jeſus Chriſt*, had no dealings at all with the Platoniſts; at leaſt the Author of the Acts of the Apoſtles is ſilent in that point, though he ſpeaks of the oppoſition the Stoicks and Epicureans gave him. It is to be thought, that after the taking of *Athens* by *Sylla*, *Plato's* School was not ſo famous; at leaſt *Laertius* concludes his Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of *Plato* about that time, in which the Wiſe men of *Greece* begun to leave their Countrey to follow the Fortune of their Conquerours, and came to ſettle at *Rome*, which was the head of the Empire: But affairs were ſo perplexed under the ſucceeding Emperors, that Philoſophy gave place to the ſpirit of Intrigue and Faction, which began to take form under the corrupt government of the firſt Emperors. There is alſo ſome likelihood that the ſtudy of Philoſophy was at this time forbid at *Rome* to perſons of quality, and eſpecially to Senators, as appears in the life of

Agri-

Agricola, who went to study at *Marseilles*, where Learning then flourished.

Julium Agricolam *per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque* Massiliæ *transegisse, Sede & Magistra studiorum.*

Musonius a great follower of *Plato*, as well as *Apollonius Thyanæus*, making use of their Philosophy to the disturbance of Affairs under *Domitian*, obliged that Emperour to drive all Philosophers from *Rome*, by an Edict very injurious to them, and which did much lessen the credit of Philosophy: Though 'tis pretended, that an Astrologer called *Metius Pomposianus* was the cause of this Edict by the Horoscope he erected of that Emperour.

Studia Philosophiæ ultra quam concessum Romæ *& Senatori hausisse in prudentia matris coercuisset.* Tacit. in ejus vita.

This Persecution lasted till *Trajans* time, who grew something more favourable to learned men, though himself was not learned. The Emperour *Adrian*, who was his Successor, and who loved Philosophy for the sake of *Plutarch* his Master, re-established the Exercise of it in the City of *Alexandria*, where it was almost ceased since the burning of that Royal School, and that famous Library which the Kings of *Ægypt* had erected in their Palace; For *Julius Cæsar* in the

Suet. in Domiti. Dion. Chrysost. orat. 40. Philost. in Apol.

the making himself Master of *Alexandria* after the death of *Pompey*, caused to be set on fire certain suspected Houses about the Palace, the flames of which took into the Library, and burnt Seven hundred thousand Volumes, which had been gathered together by the diligence of *Philetas* the Master of *Philadelphus*, and that of *Eratosthenes*, and *Apollonius* the *Rhodian*, who were Library keepers. The desire *Adrian* had to be learned was so great, that he had some jealousie of *Phavorinus* his Secretary, if we may believe *Suidas*, because he was more knowing then himself: However it was his love to Learning that made him recall to *Rome Epictetus* the great *Stoick*, *Numenius* the *Platonist*, and other Philosophers which had been expelled by *Domitian*. And it was likewise by the order of *Adrian*, that *Nycias* of *Smyrna*, *Polemon*, *Denys* the Sophist, of whom *Philostrates* speaks, *Pancrates*, and several other Wise men were sent to *Alexandria* to teach all the Sciences; and that Emperour coming afterwards to *Alexandria*, proposed sundry Questions to the Philosopher he had sent thither, and himself resolved them.

Ex Spartian

Antoninus, and *Marcus Aurelius*, who were his Successors in the Empire, were so likewise in the inclinations he had for Learning, especially for Philosophy, which they both very ardently affected. *Herodian* says in his History, that the passion which *Marcus Aurelius* had for Philosophy,

losophy brought it into exceeding request, and produced great numbers of Philosophers during his Reign; he established in the Schools of *Athens* the ancient Discipline which was much decayed, and gave great allowances to the Professors, as *Capitolinus* assures us; which *Lucian* sets forth at large in his Eunuch: Nay, so much was this Prince affected with the quality of Philosophy, that *Athenagoras*, of whom *Methodius* makes mention among his Ecclesiastical Authors, being sent to him on the behalf of the *Greek* Churches, complemented him and his Son *Commodus* with the Name of Philosophers; believing he could not better flatter their Vanity then by this Title.

Maximus of *Tyrus*, a great *Platonist*, who had been one of the Masters of *Marcus Aurelius*, contributed largely towards the making him love Philosophy, and towards bringing the Doctrine of *Plato* into vogue in his Court. *Numenius*, of whom *Eusebius* speaks, who had a great Reputation under the two *Antonines*, and that *Cronius*, who writ in the same time a part of the History of the *Academy*, did both the one and the other, raise so much the credit of *Plato* at *Rome*, that his Doctrine became *a la mode* among the Ladies at Court; insomuch, that a *Stoick* called *Apollonius*, of whom *Photius* speaks, writ a History of the *Platonick Ladies*. *Apuleius*, who was of *Maudaura*,

Euſ. in præp. Evang. l. 11.

Phot. in Biblioth.

daura, and *Gallen* that famous Phyſician, both of this Court, added likewiſe much credit to *Plato*, by what they writ on his Doctrine. *Diogenes Laertius* yet added more to the Reputation of this Philoſopher, by that admirable Work he compoſed on the Hiſtory of the Ancient Philoſophers, which he dedicated to a Lady of *Severus* Court, called *Arrhia*, paſſionately affectionate for *Plato*, as he ſays himſelf; and the ſame which *Galen* cur'd of a weakneſs of Stomach with his Treacle. *Julia* the Empreſs encouraged by the Example of her Husband *Severus*, (who was much more favourable to Learning then the Emperour *Commodus* his Predeceſſor, ſhewed great reſpect to the Sciences, and Learned men, as *Dion* reports; and it was ſhe that commanded *Philoſtrates* to write the Life of *Apollonius Thyaneus*, ſuch was her inclination to Philoſophy. In fine, the reputation of *Sextus Empirius*, who was the chief of the Fifth Academy, made *Plato* very conſiderable under the *Antonines*; and even to the Reign of *Severus*, there was ſcarce any other Philoſophy taught at *Rome*, but that of *Plato*.

Such was the eſtate wherein ſtood the Philoſophy of *Plato* in all this firſt age, which was that of the birth of the Church, and the Eſtabliſhment of our Religion, and the greateſt obſtacle which the Apoſtles, and their immediate ſucceſſors found in propagating the Goſpel, was Philoſophy, of which the world was then ſo full, that no

no sooner did St. *Paul* appear in *Athens* to Preach *Jesus Christ*, but the *Epicureans* and *Stoicks* rise up against him, as we may read in *Acts*. And St. *Austin* in the discourse he makes on the Sermon of that Apostle, affirms him to have had no great success, because there reigned at *Athens* a spirit of curiosity, onely extending it sel to satisfie the appetite people had to learn something new. This fancy of reasoning eve y where upon Principles of Philosophy increased daily under those Emperours I but now spoke of. Upon which *Lucian* makes perpetual railleries: He never is in a better humour, nor never speaks better things, then of those Philosophers, and of the head Philosophy had gain'd in those days, which he takes pleasure on all occasions to render ridiculous.

Quidam Epicurei & Stoici disserebant cum eo, & dicebant, quid vult semini verbius hic dicere. 17. Act.

Athenienses ad nihil aliud vacabant, nisi aut dicere aut audire aliquid novi. Ibid.

So that the knowing men that were among the *Christians*, that they might not be at continual oppositions with the learned among the Heathen, who disdained to hearken to any who made not profession of some Philosophy, took at last part with the *Platonists*; because the Doctrine of *Plato* was then most in vogue: For the *Stoicks* began to lose their credit, *Plutarch* and *Lucian* having made evident the falsity of their virtue, in divers of their works; and

it happened to their exceſs of ſeverity, which happens generally to all exceſſes, to fall at laſt into looſeneſs; and their wiſe man in *Idea* was become a meer *Chymera*. The Philoſophy of *Epicurus*, which taught the Art of enjoying pleaſures methodically, began likewiſe in progreſs of time to become inſupportable, by the natural importment of paſſions which become more violent when they are flattered, as was ſeen in this Sect; and though *Epicurus* ſeem'd onely to aim at the pleaſure of the mind, yet his Philoſophy became ſo ſenſual in the end, that it was utterly cried down by all that were truly virtuous: For *Ariſtotle* was yet but little known; ſo all declared for *Plato*.

For it was believed, that beſides the not having for abſolute oppoſites all thoſe multitudes of Philoſophers, of which the world was full, it would be the beſt means to weaken the forces of the reſt, to apply themſelves to thoſe whoſe opinions were leaſt contrary to the Principles of our Religion; and the Sect of *Plato* was judged the moſt proper of all others, for the *Chriſtians* to enter into ſociety with: The principal reaſons of which were, that the School of *Plato* finding nothing certain in nature, ſave uncertainty, it was gueſſed eaſier to introduce our lights into thoſe ſpirits, which were already, as it were, prepared to quit their own opinions by the profeſſion of a Philoſophy ſo little obſtinate in their Principles; that that Wiſdom which acknow-

acknowledged its want of power to find any thing true upon earth, would more readily dispose the mind to a subjection to truths that came from Heaven, that it would be facile for that Sect to acknowledge the necessity of Faith, which held all natural knowledge onely for pure opinion; that that Philosophy which rais'd man above himself by the method of its *Idea's*, that relieved him against his proper sense, by making him doubt of all things, might more readily be disposed to Christianity, which raises us above humane, and fixes us to divine things; that *Plato* teaching man in the Dialogue of *Cratyles*, and in that concerning Death, that the Body is onely the Prison and Sepulchre of the Soul, might likewise inspire the contempt of it, and dispose to that virtuous Mortification, so necessary to a Christian: And in fine, that a Soul that observed in all its faculties nothing but wants, and real miseries, as *Plato* teaches in his *Phedon*, and in other of his Works, would with little difficulty relish those Maximes of Christian humility, which begin to form man to perfection by a sensible knowledge of his nothingness.

These are the chief reasons that made the Christians determine to accommodate themselves to the Sect of *Plato*, in the necessity they found themselves of embracing some one; and this necessity appear'd more evident by the conversion of *Justine* the Philosopher, who was after-

wards a Martyr, he profeſſed that nothing had more diſpoſed his ſpirit to ſubmit to the truths of our Faith, then *Plato*'s Philoſophy, of which he had been a great follower. He profeſſes likewiſe his Dialogue to *Thryphon*, that after having ſought truth in all the Schools of Philoſophy, he had found only in that of *Plato* wherewith to raiſe him above earth, where all the reſt ſeem'd rather to fix him. The like happened to *Tatien* his Scholar, who was a great *Platonick*; for he learnt at *Rome* that Philoſophy that prepared him for Chriſtianity. *Quadratus* biſhop of *Athens*, who writ an Apology for our Religion to the Emperour *Adrian*, of which St. *Jerome* ſpeaks, and which was the Model of that afterwards writ by St. *Juſtin*; this *Quadratus*, I ſay, as alſo *Apollinarius* Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, and *Meliton* Biſhop of *Sardes*, were great followers of *Plato*'s Doctrine.

I ſpeak not of thoſe other Fathers, who defended againſt the Heathen the Holineſs and Innocence of our Religion by the Purity of their Zeal, and Solidity of their Reaſons: As *Ariſtides*, who maintained by his Philoſophy the Goſpel of *JESUS CHRIST* under *Adrian*; and that wiſe *Apollonius*, who with all the ſplendour of his Senators Purple, juſtified the ſcandal of the Croſs under the Emperour *Commodus*, who cauſed him to be beheaded. Nor will I ſpeak of *Athenagoras*, of *Panthemus* mentioned by *Euſebius*, of *Methodius*, and of that *Bardeſanes*,

saints, who writ against *Marcion*. But I cannot pass by with silence that most accomplished of all Platonists, and most excellent of all the Fathers, the great *Origen*, who defended with so much success the Doctrine of *JESUS CHRIST* against *Celsus*, the greatest Enemy it then had: Nor did he undertake its defence, till after having arm'd his spirit with the Doctrine of *Plato*; of which he was so eager a Professor, as all the world knows. Saint *Austin* likewise professes in divers parts of his Works, that among all the prophane Authors he had read, he found none with whom he could more readily incline to enter into a negotiation in matter of Religion, then the *Platonists*; and he assures us, that the most illustrious Doctors of his time became *Christians* out of the Schools of *Plato*. The distrust which these Fathers of the two first Ages had of the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, which consulted onely pure sense and reason, and seem'd too much fixed to them, contributed not a little to make the Doctrine of *Plato* more recommendable to the Primitive *Christians*.

Lib. de vera relig. c. 9. Epist ad Dioscor. lib. confess. 7. & 8. c. 2. & 9.

But after all, this admirable Philosophy, the splendour of which at first dazled mens minds, reigned onely for a time; there was at last found poyson to be concealed under these flowers. *Tertullian* was one of the first that discovered it, his having taken part with the Sect of

the *Stoicks*, was that perhaps ſet him on to declare his animoſity againſt the *Platoniſts*, whom he calls the firſt Authors of thoſe Hereſies that ſprung up in his time. The misfortune of *Origen* to fall in ſo dreadful a manner into Errour, made likewiſe the greateſt part of the *Chriſtians* open their eyes, and confeſs *Plato* the author of his diſorders. Saint *Hyppolitus* Martyr, whoſe Writings are ſo highly approved by St. *Jerome*, and by *Euſebius*, declaims loudly againſt this Philoſopher, as the moſt dangerous of all. *Lactantius*, and *Arnobius*, both the moſt famous Oratours of their time, writ vehemently againſt *Plato* in thoſe admirable Books of theirs penned about the latter end of the third Age: But of all the Fathers of thoſe times, none ſeems to have more juſtly blamed the Doctrine of that Philoſopher then St. *Chriſoſtome*, in the Preface to his Homilies on St. *Matthew*, where he makes *Plato* paſs for a Viſionary, and the *Idea's* of his Commonwealth for Extravagancies.

Euſeb. in Antick.

'Twas then now firſt diſcerned, that this Philoſophy was not altogether ſo favourable to Chriſtianity as was believed; becauſe it fought out the truth onely not to find it, that it accuſtomed the ſpirit to doubt in the moſt certain things; and that it plac'd Science onely in irreſolution, and in thoſe doubts of which it made Profeſſion. It appear'd afterwards, as it came to be more known, to be as much oppoſite to

our

our Religion, as it ſeem'd to be conformable; for *Plato* having mixt his own imaginations with what he had learnt in *Ægypt* by Traditions from the *Jews*, did inſenſibly inſpire the mind with a liberty to mingle his Viſions with things eſtabliſhed. In his School likewiſe were formed the Hereſies of the *Gnoſticks*, and the *Valentinians*, as *Tertullian* obſerves, who tells us in the book of the Soul, *That the Doctrine of* Plato *was become the ſeaſoning of all hereſies.* St. *Epiphanius* ſays the ſame things in his Works, where he tells us, that moſt part of the Hereſies of his time, eſpecially the *Marcionites*, and the *Manichees*, were come out of the School of *Plato.* Saint *Cyril* calls it the Fountain of Ignorance and Impiety; from which ſprung *Arrianiſme*, which ſtirr'd up ſo great troubles in the Church. For this reaſon likewiſe Saint *Gregory Nazianzen* treats the Works of this Philoſopher as Chimera's and Illuſions: And St. *Auſtin*, who had ſo much eſteem for him in his youth, becauſe he found him pleaſant, began to accuſe him when he came to riper years; he writ likewiſe againſt this Sect that Work he calls *againſt the Academians*, where he confeſſes, that the Doctrine of *Plato* had put him into irreſolutions; and he repents in the Book *of his Retractations*, his

Tertul. cap 7. de præſ. *Doleo bona fide* Platonem *omnium hæreticorum actum eſſe condimentum.*

Epiph. lib. de hæreſib.

his having had any esteem or complaisance for him. Saint *Ambrose* likewise does much disrelish him in his Writings against that Philosopher, as Cardinal *Baronius* testifies.

Bar. ad ann 384 ann. Eccl.

We find likewise that *Justin* the Martyr, *Tatien* his Disciple, *Athenagoras*, *Bardesanes*, and the other Apologists of the Gospel, who in the end of the first Age, and during all that second, had so much cried up *Plato*, were not very correct in their Opinions, but fell almost all into that Errour concerning the mystery of the Trinity; for which *Arrius* was afterwards condemned. *Tatien*, who had so couragiously defended the Religion under *Marcus Aurelius*, became head of the *Eucratistes* by the Doctrine of *Plato*. *Tertullian* says, that *Marcion* made a false *Idea* of God by that he had taken from this Philosopher. *Sabellius* became not a Heretick, but by his obstinacy in *Plato*'s Doctrine, and defil'd by his imaginations the Purity of Christianity, as fair water is defiled by mixing it with mud, as *Theodoret* observes. Saint *Basil* says, that the thought of

Bar. Annal. Eccl. ad annum 174.

Tertul contr. hærer. c. 7.

Theodoret. l. de curand. affectib. Græcorum.

Plato

Plato concerning the Chaos which preceded the Creation of the World in his *Timæus*, where he ſpeaks of the Earth as of a Canvas prepared for the drawing a Picture on, is an errour formed by him from the firſt words of *Geneſis* which he had read.

Terra autem eſt inanis & vacua. Gen. 1.

Therefore the Fathers of the third and fourth Age that knew the danger of *Plato*'s Philoſophy, utterly diſtruſted it, though it had received approbation among the *Chriſtians* of the firſt and ſecond Age. Yet it became more famous and flouriſhing then ever among the Heathens, under the Emperors *Godian*, *Philip*, *Valerian*, and *Julian*, by the Works of *Plotinus*, who was the firſt and moſt famous Commentatour on *Plato*. This *Plotin* was of *Ægypt*, he ſtudied Philoſophy in *Alexandria* under that *Ammonius*, who from a Porter became one of the greateſt Philoſophers of his time, and who was a Chriſtian. *Tryphon* the Scholar of *Origen* reproched this *Plotinus*, for having ſtole from *Numenius* who lived under the *Antonines*, what he had writ of *Plato*; of which *Acelius* juſtifies him in an expreſs Work. However it were, *Plotin* explains the Doctrine of *Plato* in ſo excellent a manner, in that Commentary he made, that it may be ſaid he added to his fame in the Court of *Gallie-*

nus,

nus; for the Emperor and the Empress *Salonin* had both so much esteem and consideration for *Plotinus*, that they permitted him to establish the Government *Plato* had given the *Idea* of, in his Books of the Commonwealth, in a City of *Italy*, which they gave him to make trial in: But this design came to nothing for many reasons; though *Plotinus* was the Instrument of making re-flourish the Doctrine of *Plato* in that Age; for 'twas in his School were bred up all those Illustrious *Platonists* of the fourth and fifth Age, *Amelius*, *Porphyrius*, *Iamblicus*, *Sopater*, *Proclus*, and *Damascus*, who succeeded one another, and who found new allurements in Philosophy by the kindnesses they received from the Emperors, and especially from *Julian the Apostate*, whose Reign was the more favourable to the *Platonists*, because he had so much a desire to be one: Before he came to be Emperour, he made a Voyage o *Athens*, on purpose to take the Gown of Philosophy, and to be received into their Forms, that he might make a more declared Profession of it; and afterwards being Emperour, he advanced Philosophers to publick Charges, giving them part in his affairs, by making them Governours and Super-intendents in the Provinces.

Recentiores Philosophi nobilissimi quibus Plato *sectandus placuit noluerint dici Academici sed Platonici quibus sunt nobiltati*, Plotinus, Iamblicus, Porphyrius. *Aug. l.* 8. *de Civit. c.* 12

But

But this great Credit of *Plato* decayed under the Succeſſors of *Julian*, that is to ſay, under *Arcadius*, *Honorius*, and the two *Theodoſius's*; for theſe Emperours being become Chriſtians, complied with the Opinions of St. *Chryſoſtome*, St. *Jerome*, and St. *Auſtin*, who had found out the falſity of that Doctrine. 'Tis true, that ſome time before the Emperour *Conſtantine*, in the diſcourſe he made to the Fathers aſſembled in the *Nicene* Councel, praiſed much the Morals of this Philoſopher; and above all, that place where he ſpeaks of reward and puniſhment to the good and evil after death. Nor was it ever intended utterly to blame all in *Plato*, becauſe there was ſome danger found in him; which danger never appeared more, then after reflection made on the dreadful Adventures of *Apollonius Thyanæus*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Julian the Apoſtate*, *Iamblicus*, *Proclus*, and ſeveral other *Platoniſts*, who became either Magicians or Atheiſts, : *Plotinus* ſuffering himſelf to be ſeduced at *Rome* by an *Ægyptian* Prieſt, began his Witchcrafts in the Temple of *Iſis*. *Porphyrius* became a Perſecutor of the Church : and *Julian* grew a ſtricter follower of *Plato* after he had renounced Chriſtianity; for in the foundation of it this Philoſophy leads by its doubts, and by incredulity, either to Impiety, or Pyrrhoniſme. 'Tis ſaid likewiſe, that *Maximus* of *Epheſus*, who was Maſter to the Emperour *Julian*, drew

drew him to Paganisme by a secret Philosophy he had learnt of *Iamblicus*: But this *Maximus* became so odious for the abominations of his Philosophy, which was a perfect Magick, that the Emperour *Valentinian* put him to death, as *Socrates* observes in his History. We may find likewise in one of the Epigrams of *Callimachus*, that a certain *Cleombrotus*, a great follower of *Plato*, threw himself down from a Rock out of a desire to dye, which the reading this Philosopher had inspired him with. All these Examples made it appear in effect how dangerous this Philosophy was.

Towards the end of the fifth Age there was in *France* a Bishop of *Vienna* called *Mamercus*, who made head for *Plato*, but it came to no effect. In fine, this Philosophy was almost utterly cast off under the Emperours *Mauritius*, *Phocas*, *Heraclitus*, and even to the end of the eighth Age. The incursion of the *Goths* into *Italy* in the time of the Emperour *Anastasius*, the Wars of the *Sarrazens* in *Asia*, the taking of *Alexandria* by the *Mussulmans*, which happened in the Twentieth year of the *Hegira*, and the 642. of our Saviour, the Persecution raised against Philosophers in the year 750. by the Emperour *Leo Isauricus*, who caused his own Master to be burned, and many other Philosophers together with their Books; and other such like disgraces atchieved the final ruine of

Study,

Study, and the credit of Philosophy, and brought to nothing the Reputation of *Plato* in those places where he had shone with most glory. The use likewise of the *Greek* Tongue began to be abolished in *Ægypt* under the Reign of the *Caliph Valid*, who resided at *Damascus*; this Prince forbidding the *Greeks* to use any other Language save the *Arabick* in publick Acts, which much increased that ignorance which now began to overspread all *Greece* and *Italy*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Adventures of the Sect, and Doctrine of Ariſtotle *in the Eight firſt Ages.*

THe merit of *Ariſtotle* began as I have ſaid to be known in *Rome* by the diligence uſed by *Andronicus*, to reſtore his writings, and the frequent praiſes which *Cicero* gave him in divers places of his works; but it muſt be acknowledged, that it required much time and great light to ſound this Abyſſe and to ſearch him to the bottom; becauſe that after all there was in this Authour Clouds to diſperſe, difficulties to clear, and Bryers and Thorns to root out, which was the cauſe he could not be well underſtood till after a long time of ſtudy, and after having penitrated into his Doctrine with profound meditations. Now follows the progreſs of the adventures of his Sect, and of his Philoſophy.

Athenadorus of *Tarſis*,, of whom *Plutarch* makes mention, was the firſt that in the Court of *Auguſtus*, made known the Categories by that he writ upon them, of which *Simplicius* ſpeaks with much commendation. *Plutarch* ſayes likewiſe,

That

That *Nicholas* of *Damaſcus*, a great Peripatician, and much loved of the Emperour, taught him *Ariſtotle* by the books which he writ of his Doctrine. This Philoſopher, ſaith *Suidas*, made likewiſe a kind of Cakes of an exquiſite taſt, which *Auguſtus* loved exceedingly: Theſe Cakes, ſayes he, pleaſed him better then all the writings of his Maſter, by which he profited little; that Prince being then affected with nothing but the Verſes of *Virgil* and *Horace*. *Strabo* ſayes, That in the time of *Auguſtus* two other Philoſophers, named *Zenarchus* and *Athenæus*, both of *Seleucia* came to *Rome* to teach *Ariſtotles* Philoſophy, which *Zenarchus* had before taught at *Athens*, and at *Alexandria*; For all able men came then to *Rome* to make themſelves known, as I have before obſerved. There was not any Philoſopher follower of *Ariſtotle*, who gained any reputation under the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula* and *Claudius*.

Nero had a Peripatition for his inſtructer, called *Alexander* of *Ægæa*, as *Suidas* ſayes; but this Philoſopher had not the credit to make the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle* very conſiderable in a Court where *Burrus* and *Seneca*, both Stoicks, had ſo much power: There was likewiſe one *Adraſtus*, who laboured about the writings of *Ariſtotle*, to arrange the Books in their due place, and put the Chapters in their natural order, but his work is loſt. *Sotion*, who was *Seneca's* maſter, together with *Soſogines*, and *Hermippus*, forſook the Doctrine of *Plato*

to follow that of *Aristotle*: And though the Spirit of intrigue reigned much among people of quality under the succeeding Emperours, yet there was found in the Court of *Vitellius* a man of wisdom, named *Helvidius Priscus*, who applied himself diligently to Philosophy, *Not* (saith *Tacitus*, *with intent to make it a specious pretext for sloth and idleness, as others did, but to strengthen his Soul against the divers events of of fortune*, which the fickleness of Emperours had made very frequent. To this study retired with him *Petus*, and his Son in Law *Thraseas*, who had Souls too great to behold the infamy of the government under which they lived.

Ingenium illustre altioribus studijs Helvidius dedit non ut plerique magnifico Philosophiæ nomine segne otium velaret sed quo firmior adversus fortuita rempub. capesseret. Tacit. 4. Hist.

Domitian's persecuting Philosophers, joyn'd with the scorn thrown on Philosophy it self, now at *Rome*, did much discredit this Study throughout the whole Empire: But its credit began to revive under *Adrian*, and amongst the wise men that had reputation in his Court, among whom *Favonius* the *Peripatician* was one of the next considerable. *Taurus* of *Berytus* who composed a discourse of the difference between the Philosophy of *Plato*, and that of *Aristotle*, signallized himself in the Court of *Commodus*, and *Alexander* the *Aphrodisean*, was the first professor of the Peripatetick philosophy, established at *Rome* by *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Lucius Verus*, as himself

ſelf bears witneſs in his Commentaries, this learned man was the firſt that opened the Carriere, to that multitude of Commentarors on *Arioſttle*, which followed him, and likewiſe the moſt underſtanding and cleareſt of them all. *Gallen* Phyſician to *Marcus Antoninus*, the moſt gallant and delicate wit, and moſt knowing man of the Court, addicted himſelf much to the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle*; and writ Commentaries full of Learning on the works of that Philoſopher. *Alexander* of *Damaſcus* taught then at *Athens* the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle*, as *Ammonius Saccas* did at *Alexandria*. The reputation of this *Ammonius*, was great by reaſon of his extraordinary Genius; and having his Spirit filled with the Doctrine of *Plato*, and that of *Ariſtotle*, which he had joyned together, he began firſt of all to ſet forth a Philoſophy framed of the one and the other, which the learned afterwards embraced, as *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Sipſion* of *Alexandria*, his Scholer *Proclus*, whom *Simplicius* calls the Maſter of his Maſters, and after them many more.

In this time which was ſo fertile in great perſons, the depth of the Genius of *Ariſtotle* began to be known, through the great diligence wherew th the learned applyed themſelves to the ſtudy of his Doctrine, and to the explaining it by their Commentaries, ſuch were *Aphrodiſeus* under *Antonine*, *Aſpaſius* under *Commodus*, *Syrianus* under *Gordian*, *Porphyrius* under *Galienus*,

and *Aurelian*, *Proclus* under *Julian* the second, *Ammonius* his Scholer, who has writ so well on the book of *The interpretation of Aristotle* under *Valentinian*, *Didimus*, who was the Master of St. *Jerome* under *Gratian*, *Themistius* under *Jovinian* and *Valens*, St. *Augustin* under *Honorius*, *Olympiodorus* under the young *Theodosius*, *Simplicius* and *Philoponus* under *Justin* and *Justinian*, *Boetius* under the Emperour *Anastasius*, and *King Theodoric*, not to speak of *Ascelpius*, *Priscian*, *Dixippus*, *Damascius*, and an infinity of others. All these great men, who were the most learned of these first Ages, contributed by their works to the making of the Doctrine of *Aristotle* be understood by the world, which the more it was known, the more it was esteemed. The evil treatment of the Emperour *Caracalla* to the followers of this Philosophy, was not very prejudicial to the Sect, by reason of the slight opinion all the world had of him, having made himself contemptible by his extravagances; for he unjustly put to death *Papinian*, the greatest man of the Empire, and with much brutishness persecuted all virtuous and learned men.

The opinions of the Christians in the three first Ages, where not so favourable to *Aristotle* as to *Plato*; but in progress of time the reputation of *Aristotle* increased so much the more, as men applied themselves to understand him. On the contrary, that of *Plato* decayed upon examination of it. The Truth is, the primitive Fathers

thers at first distrusted *Aristotle* as a Philosopher, who consulted too much with Sense and Reason; they judged his Doctrine improper to Christianity, which required a perfect submission of Reason, too much relied upon by this Philosopher; they thought him too natural, too politick, too refined; in short too much a Philosopher, insomuch that they suffered him not in their Libraries, *Tertullian* accounts of him as of a miserable Sophist, under whom all the enemies of the Faith took up Arms to fight for, and defend errour, and believes that it was of his Doctrine that the Apostle in the Epistle to the *Colossians* advises the faithful to beware, because it was dangerous. This danger might indeed be perceived by the example of the *Theodosians*, under the Emperour *Severus*, who made use of the Method and reasonings of *Aristotle*, to uphold their errour. The *Carpocratians* were condemned for having set up the Image of this Philosopher with that of *Jesus Christ*, and for having adored him out of an extravagant zeal to his Doctrine. The *Aetians* were excommunicated by the Church, and by the *Arians* themselves, from whom they were separated, for teaching their Scholers the Categories of *Aristotle* for Catechisme. The *Antinomians* were

Tertul. lib. 1. de præscrip. *Videte nequis vos circumveniat per Philosophiam*, 2d Col.

Bar. Annal. Ecc. ad annum 120 Ibid. ad ann.

Euseb. Hist. c. 27.

ported to such an excess of Impiety, as to bear more respect to this wise Heathen, then to the uncreated wisdom.

Origine in his Books against *Celsus*, who from a *Jew* turn'd Heathen, begins one of the first among the Christians to cry down *Aristotle* out of the prepossession he had for *Plato*; and because indeed he found too much reason in his Philosophy, his Spirit accustomed to the pleasing and flourishing Air of *Plato*, could not comply with that of *Aristotle*. The most part of the other Fathers entertained his opinion, as St. *Justin* in his Dialogue to *Tryphon*; St. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in his advertisement to the Gentiles; St. *Irenæus*, in his Book against Hereticks; St. *Eusebius* in divers places of his works; St. *Athanasius* against *Macedonian*; St. *Basil*, and St. *Gregory* of *Nice* against *Eunomius*; St. *Gregory Nazianzen* in his twenty sixth and thirty seventh Orations; St. *Epiphanius* in his second Book of Heresies; *Faustin* in his Book against the *Arrians*; St. *Ambrose* in the first book of his Offices; St. *Chrysostome* on the Epistle to the *Romans*; St. *Cyril* against the Emperour *Julian*, and a world of others who found something to say against *Aristotle*, out of the fear they had least it should imprint in the Christians a Character of his Logick, which is punctilious in all things, and utterly opposite to Faith, which requires only submission: They believed it easie to make an ill use of the Doctrine

ctrine of this Philosopher; because they had not well comprehended it. *We are called faithful,* said St. *Chrysostome, to the end that by contempt of humane reason we may raise our selves to the heights of faith.* Homi. 24. in Johan.

Yet in the end it was found that this art of reasoning taught by *Aristotle,* had nothing false in it; but was indeed very solid, and might be of use in our Religion, the which supernatural as it is, is yet conformant to reason. *Anatolius,* whom *Eusebius* calls the most knowing of his time, and who was afterwards Bishop of *Laodicea,* was the first *Christian* that taught the Doctrine of *Aristotle*, at *Alexandria*, and who began to make him be understood towards the end of the third Age, under the Empire of *Diocletian*; the authority of this learned man reestablished that of *Aristotle* in *Ægypt*, and and gave him reputation in *Italy*. *Themistius* a famous Peripatician, and intimate friend to St. *Gregory Nazienzen*, not being able to mollifie the Spirit of the Emperour *Valens* towards the *Christians*, yet added much to the glory of *Aristotle*, under the Empire of *Theodosius*, who did him the honour to trust him, though he were a Heathen with his Son *Arcadius*, during a Voyage he made into *Italy*. St. *Jerome* speaks very favourably of *Aristotle* in his second book again *Pelagius*

Peripateticorum sententiæ consentit sanctæ Scripturæ authoritas. Hier.

lagius. St. *Austin*, who had so piercing a Spirit, would never have thought this Author worth his labour, had he not esteemed him; and in those books he has writ against *Cresconius*, he blames much the Grammarian *Donatistus* for endeavoring to deprive the Church of the use of Logick, so useful for the defence of its truths. *Theodoret* gave great praises to that admirable blind man *Dydimus* of *Alexandria*, one of the most knowing men of his time; because he well understood the Doctrine of *Aristotle*, he extolls him for having so clearly explained him in his Commentaries, made about the end of the fourth Century. *Victorinus* who was one of the Masters of St. *Jerome*, and whom this Father puts in the number of the Ecclesiastical writers, begins to translate into Latine the Introduction of *Porphyrius*, which is necessary for the understanding of the works of *Aristotle*. *Prætextatus* translated into that Language his books of the *Analiticks*,

The Emperour *Theodosius* the younger, who had so great passion for Learning, by report of *Sozomenes*, caused to come from *Greece* a Peripatetick Philosopher, named *Celsus*, to teach Philosophy at *Rome*, for whom the Emperour had a great consideration, as *Symmachus* in his Epistles assures us; and that Emperour took great care to cause able people to come from *Athens* to instruct the *Roman* youth,

Soz. Hi. Eccl. præf.

and

and to make the love of Learning flouriſh in his Reign. In fine that illuſtrious *Roman Severinus Boetius*, who was three times Conſul, after having ſtudied the ſpace of eighteen years at *Athens* the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*; and after having more particularly ſearched into it by private meditation, and long conſideration, tranſlated into Latine ſome works of this Philoſopher; and became the firſt, who made this author be fully underſtood in the Latine Church, where he was not known but by the noiſe made by the tranſlations and Commentaries of *Greek* interpreters, his reputation ſpread in a little time through all *Italy*; ſo that *Ariſtotle* began not to be abſolutesolutely known in the Weſt, till the ſixth Century, and it was to *Boetius*, who had the greateſt Genius of his time for Learning, that he owed the Obligation.

Inter præcipua negotiatiorum curatum eſt ut in eruiendis nobilibus præceptores ex Attica poſcerentur. Sym. l. 9. ep. 18.

But though the labours of *Boetius* might have drawn followers to the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle* in a time wherein he had expoſed it to the world with ſo much clearneſs; yet ſuch was the misfortune of the age, turmoiled with the wars of *Italy*, and worſe with the ignorance of the Emperours, that even from *Boetius* his time until the end of the Eighth Century, there was none but St. *John Damaſcenus*, under the Emperour *Cropronymus*, who appeared to have any love for

for Philoſophy; he was a *Syrian* where there was yet ſome remains of Learning; he addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of *Ariſtotle*, and abridged his Logick, Morals and other works, but the ignorance and ſtupidity of that age, and of the following was ſo great, that they were took for *Necromancers*, thoſe who underſtood any thing, as *Bellarmine* reports of Pope *Sylveſter* the ſecond, who was skilful in Philoſophy and Geometry. It appears by all this diſcourſe, That *Ariſtotle* was but little known to the Greek, and leſs to the Latine Fathers; and ſo little uſe was made of him in matters of Religion in theſe firſt Centuries, let us ſee if he has been more happy in the ſucceeding ages; and to that end examine what has been the Fortune of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* in theſe latter times.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The opinions of the learned of these Eight last Centuries, on the opinions of Plato.

THe sad Estate of *Greece* and *Italy* in these former ages, caused by the terrible revolution of those two Empires, left neither the leasure, nor scarce the liberty to those, who had most desire to learning, to apply themselves to it, and the confusion of the times, begot a confusion in the studies of Philosophy, even where it was professed. *Zonaras* in the third Tome of his History, speaks of a Philosopher, named *Leo*, who in the ninth Century under the Emperour *Michael*, and the Empereſs *Theodora* his Mother, grew famous at *Constantinople* by the favour of *Bardos* the Emperours Uncle, who was a lover of Learning. This *Leo* was Bishop of *Thessalonica*, the Emperour best understood his merit by the instant solicitation of the King of the *Sarazens* to send him to him to learn of him the

the Sciences. *Photius*, who was afterwards Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the most learned of his time, was renowned under the same Reign; but neither the Patriarch, nor the Bishop were so much Philosophers, as to addict themselves either to *Plato* or *Aristotle*'s Rules. And the love of Learning was utterly extinct among the Ecclesiasticks in the Tenth Century; because the Church enjoyed a profound Peace, and there was nothing to stir up that emulation which begets learned men.

In the end, whether it were the calm in which the Church continued during some following Centuries, which gave more leasure to the Doctors to study the Fathers, and make reflexions upon the opinions they had had of the Doctrine of *Plato*, which had appeared so dangerous; or whether the Genius of those times inclined not men to the study of that Philosophy, it was utterly left off until the fourteenth age, in which the continual wars in the East, the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*, the Counsel of *Basil*, and that of *Florence* drew into *Italy* the most learned people of *Greece*, who contribnted not a little to establish the glory of *Plato*, and the reputation of his Doctrine in the West.

The most considerable of those *Greeks* which came into *Italy* were *John Argyropolis*, to whom the great *Cosmo de Medicis* delivered his two Sons to be educated; *Emmanuel Chrysolore* the first

first who re ived in *Italy* the love of Learning; *Theodorus* of *Gaza*, and *George* of *Trebisond*, both *Zealots* for the Doctrine of *Aristotle*; *Bessarion* Arch-Bishop of *Nice*, and Patriarch of *Constantinople*; and *Gemistus Plethon*. *Bessarion*, who always affected the Doctrine of *Plato*, which he preferred before all others; having heard the name of *Aristotl* pronounced with some Elogies in the Counsel of *Florence*; and having understood that the most famous Divine in the Latine Church St. *Thomas*, had been a Commentator on his Doctrine, seemed much to wonder at it; but he was more surprized when he saw the works of *George* of *Trebisond*, who in a Comparison between *Aristoti* and *Plato*, which he then published, gave all the advantage to *Aristotle*, which obliged this Patriarch to make an Apology for *Plato* in that excellent work which he entitles against the *Calumniator*. This great man had induced *John Paleologus* then Emperour of *Constantinople*, to treat of an accommodation with Pope *Eugenius* IV. for the re union of the *Greek* Church with the *Latine*, and resisted with much zeal and heat the oppositions of *Mark* of *Ephesus*, who withstood the design; for which the Pope made him a Cardinal, and he employed all those advantages his credit had given him to raise the repute of *Plato* in the Court of *Rome*; and in that of *Florence*, which then esteemed Letters and learned men, and was already prepossessed with the merit of *Plato* by

But nothing so much added to the affection the *Florentine* Prince had for the Philosophy of *Plato*, as the discourse *Gemistus Plethon* made in his presence on that Doctrine. *Marcilius Ficinus* the Son of his Physitian having assisted at one of these discourses at the age of thirteen years, and having appared much touched with it, as himself acknowledges in his Preface on *Plotinus*, the great *Cosimo* called him his interpreter upon *Plato*, and commanded he should be furnished with the commentaries of *Plotinus* to prepare him for this study; he made him chief of the Academy he then designed for the teaching the Doctrine of *Plato* in that Estate, and ordered him an allowance which was paid from that very year. The love which this Prince and his successors, *Peter*, *John* and *Laurence de Medicis* had for *Plato*; the writings of *Marcilius Ficinus* on the Doctrine of this Philosopher, together with those of Cardinal *Bessarion*, and *Plethon*, which were much esteemed, revived extreamly the credit of *Plato* in *Italy*; so that most learned men, who were of any reputation, became *Platonists*; that is to say, *John Calvacante*, *Angelus Politian*; Cardinal *Cusa*; *John Picus de Mirandula*; *Pomponatius*, Professor of *Padua*; *Jerom Fracastor*, a great Poet, famous Physitian, and Pupil to *Pomponacius*, *Cardan*; *Aretine*; *Frederick* Duke of *Urbin*; *Everard* Duke of *Wirtenburg*; *James Marronius*, Professor of *Pisa*, who writ both upon *Plato* and *Aristotle*;

Jerome

Jerome Donatus of *Verona*, who publiſhed a work of the difference of their Philoſophy; *Cremonius*, *Patricius*, and a great number of learned men, who flouriſhed in *Italy* in the fifteenth Century: For as the houſe of *Medicis* did contribute much to the eſtabliſhment of Learning, partly by the knowledge of its Princes, and partly by their liberalities to learned men; ſo the moſt part of thoſe who applied themſelves to it, entertained their opinions, and became favourable to the Doctrine of *Plato*; which was now eſteemed ſo pleaſant and agreeable, that it was become the univerſal ſtudy of all ingenious Spirits.

Yet in the end *Marcilius Ficinus* went too far, bewitched with the love he had for this Philoſophy; For he too lightly entertained in his head a conception of ſupporting the ſentiments of our faith by the opinions of Philoſophy; he ſaid that the Dialogue of *Criton* was a ſummary of the Goſpel; he undertook to explain by this Doctrine the myſtery of the Trinity, that moſt incomprehenſible and inextricable of all our Myſteries; he would reduce by the authority of *Plato* the Spirits of thoſe who reſiſted the authority of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Theſe exceſſes made many people perceive

Reor hoc providentia divina decretum, ut perverſa multorum ingenia quæ Soli divini legis authoritate haud facile cedunt Platonici *Saltem ratiocinibus religioni admodum ſuffragantibus acquieſcant.* Ficin. præm. ad Plat. Theologiam.

ceive this Philosophy inclined to infidelisme, since by so feeble authority its professors would undertake to maintain what our Religion has most hard to comprehend. 'Twas this Doctrine likewise that made *Picus Mirandula*, who was so passionate for it fall into errour, *Aretine* into libertinisme, *Cremomius*, *Pomponatius*, and others into incredulity. *Cardan* the Physitian of *Pavia*, who had composed a mixt kind of Philosophy of judicial Astrology, and a great ramblement of the ancient Philosophers of all sects, taught under *Leo* the X. that there were certain Spirits in the Air with little bodies subtile and nubilous, which he had learnt from *Plato*, with many other Chimera's, of which *Gaddi* speaks in in his *Bibliotheca*, who adds that his opinions concerning the immortality of the Soul were much suspected, and he as wise as he was passed for a visionary in many things. In this manner was this Philosophy found, not only vain and dangerous in the evil use might be made of it, without observing necessary Caution, which obliged Cardinal *Bellarmine*, who was one of the most solid Spirits of his time to divert Pope *Clement* VIII. who built the Colledge of *Sapienza* at *Rome*, from founding there a Chair for the teaching the Doctrine of *Plato*. And we find in the *Memoires* of *M. Canoye*, that one *Prioli*, a noble *Venetian*, having been sent Ambassador on the part of that Republick, did before his departure desire him to procure a permission from the King for an *Italian* Doctor

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one of his Friends to come and teach at *Paris* the Philosophy of *Plato*, which he well understood, and had long studied; but the King advised by his Counsel of the danger might accrue by the giving too much credit to this Philosophy, would not consent.

Father *Petau*, a Divine of the Society of *Jesus* in the first Chapter of the second Volume of *Dogmes*, sets forth likewise the danger of studying *Plato*, without standing well on ones guard, and to what excesses they are subject, who too much submit their judgments to the opinions of this Philosophy, all which he proves by the writings of the Fathers, and the sad examples of others. But to conclude this part, 'tis apparent, that the Doctrine of *Plato* is very little used in this age, destiny having lock'd it up in the Closets of some declamers, who would grow famous in the Seat of Justice, or at its Barr; For indeed his discourse has much briskness in it, but his giving us only the appearances of truth leaves the Spirits of those that read him in a great incertainty of the things he treats of, and we arrive at nothing solid by his Doctrine, though it still allures and pleases. The only good use can be made of *Plato* is what St. *Austin* did, the reducing of things by their Idea's to form true portraicts, *Plato* is useful likewise to give us a flourishing expression proper for those who would be Eloquent; upon whom having nothing farther to observe, I return to *Aristotle*.

His adventures were so very various in these last Centuries, that it will be difficultly apprehended how tis possible progress of time, should make such different Judgments of the same person; For never was any Philosophy treated with more honour and with more infamy together then that of *Aristotle*, the recital is wonderful. The few learned men that were in the ninth and tenth Centuries, the ignorance of the *Greek* Tongue, the scarcity of good Manuscripts of the Comments made on the works of *Aristotle*, put a great stop to the course of his Doctrine; men would not trust his Interpreters, without consulting the Orignal Text, bebesides the subtilty, or rather the profoundness of his Doctrine, his stile hard and concise, which required great attention, diverted many minds from applying themselves to it with a necessary fixation of Spirit. The most understanding themselves imitating the Primitive Fathers, who had neglected him, believed this Philosopher scarce deserved examination; they were distrustful as well as those Fathers, That a Philosophy too much dependant on Nature, Sense and Reason, could be at all useful in Religion; there were likewise halfe witted people, who undertook to declaim against this Philosophy; because they understood it not: Such was the State of the Doctrine of *Aristotle* in the Latine Church, which then could not boast of many intelligent persons; Idleness or the calm and quiet they

they enjoyed, having reduced most of their Spirits. 'Tis true that the simplicity which reigned in that age, especially among the Ecclesiasticks, and in Monasteries, where were the only knowing people, could not comply with the reasonings of *Aristotle*, which seemed to inspire a Spirit of contradiction utterly opposite to the submissions of Faith, which was that obliged St. *Bernard* and *Otto* Bishop of *Frisingia* to declame with so much zeal against *Abaillard*, and *Porrentine* Bishop of *Poictiers*, for having corrupted their minds with a false Logick learnt from the study of *Aristotle*

The *Greeks*, who again flourished in the Eleventh, and some succeeeding Centuries had better studied *Aristotle* in those admirable Comments of the first ages, which they diligently read. Their Tongue which was yet preserved in *Constantinople* in despite of the Wars, served them to entertain some converse with *Aristotle* and his Commentators; yet there were but few learned men that addicted themselves to the study of this Philosophy, the most that laboured in it were *Sysinnius*, under the Emperour *Constantine Monomachus*; *Psellus* under *Michael Stratiticus*; *Magentinus* and *Michael* of *Ephesus*, under or about the Reign of *Isaac Cominenus*; *Nicephorus Blemmydes*, under the Emperour *John Dicas*; *Eustat hius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*; and *Michael Paleologus* under *Andronicus*; *Cantacutenes*, who after having thrown off the Im-

perial Purple, became a recluse on Mount Athos; *Theodore Metachyta*, *George* of *Cyprus*, *Chylas* of *Ephesus*, *Daniel Cyrigenes*, *Glycis*, *Greogorius*, *Plamydes*, and others under the succeeding Emperours, who all of them added to the credit of *Aristotle* in the *Greek* Church.

But the reputation of this great man had extended it self with a much louder fame over all *Affrica*, amongst the *Arab's* and *Moors*: For *Mahomet*, who in the seventh Century, had from being got to be general of an Army started up Prophet, and had established a new Religion by Fire and Sword, made way by his Conquests for the love of Learning in Countries where it had been much neglected; a thing ordinarily attending on power and prosperity. The first *Caliph* of his successors, who was observed to have been this way inclined, was *Almanzor*, the Founder of *Bagdat*, of the Family of *Ben-Abbas*, who began to Reign in the 137. year of the *Hegira*; and the 755. of *JESUS CHRIST*, he joyned to the study of the Law, that is to say, the *Alchoran*, which was the only study of his predecessors, that of Philosophy and Astronomy. The *Caliph Abdalla*, who began to Reign in the year 815. sent Ambrssadors to the Emperour of *Constantinople*, to request of him some books of the Sciences, which having obtained, he caused to be translated into his own Language, to stir up among the people the love of Learning, these cares were not Fruitless; For his Reign produced

d ted many Philoſophers, and very able Phyſitians.

There are ſome *Arab* Hiſtorians, that affirm, That *Mahomet* forbid by his Law the ſtudy of Letters, the better to keep concealed the abſurdities of his Religion under that ignorance of which it made profeſſion, but that the *Calyph Almamon*, or *Mamion* revived the love of Learning by occaſion of a Ghoſt appearing to him in the night in the Figure of *Ariſtotle*, and exciting him to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. This *Calyph* having overcome the Emperour *Michael*, in the Conditions of peace, demanded the Communication of their Books. It was he, if we may believe *Scaliger*, who cauſed to be tranſlated into his Language the *Almageſt* of *Ptolomy* to teach his Subjects Aſtronomy,

So that the Sciences which had paſſed from *Greece* to *Italy*, paſſed from *Italy* into *Affrica*, together with Empire which remained till the year 1258, at which time *Bagdat* was taken by the *Tartars*; but the love of Sciences ſtill continued under the Kings of *Ægypt*, *Fez* and *Morocco*; and the ages which were thoſe of Ignorance in *Europe*, were thoſe of Learning in *Affrica* and *Egypt*: For in thoſe times there were there bred up a multitude of Philoſophers, whoſe Comments much honoured *Ariſtotles* Doctrine in *Affrica*, where 'twas before unknown. The moſt famous of theſe philoſophers were *Alfarabius*, *Algazel*, *Albumazar*, *Mamonides*, *Alkindus*,

Alkindus, *Albefagar*, *Albencini*, or *Averhoes*, *Alfarabius* having found in *Mesopotamia* the Books of *Aristotles* Physicks, read them fourty times over, and after having so often read them, writ at the end, *That he was ready to read them again.* *Avicenna* and *Averroes* signallized themselves more then others, not only by their Commentaries; but likewise for the affection they made themselves, by their writings appear to have, as as well for the Person as Doctrine of *Aristotle*, by which means they raised him to so much credit, that Universities were founded for teaching the Philosophy of *Aristotle* at *Constantine*, at *Tunis*, at *Tripoly*, at *Fez*, and at *Morocco*. *Picus de Mirandula* assures us, That the *Arabs* had so much esteem for the books of *Aristotle*, when once they understood their true value, that they forsook all others. 'Tis said that *Avicenna* learnt by heart the Books of *Metaphysicks*, out of the ardent affection he had for those works, which he esteemed the most.

Pic. Mir. l. 4. de van. doct.

This was the estate wherein these people beheld the Doctrine of *Aristotle* in those places, where they commanded during the five hundred years they were masters of the world: For they extended their conquest into *Spain*, whither the *Moors* likewise brought in their love to Letters; they Founded a Colledge at *Cordova*, which in succeeding ages grew more famous; and the *Spaniards*

niards brought into *France* the Commentaries of *Avicenna* and *Averroes*, on the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, which was then little known; but by reason of the differing conceits of these latter ages, it found there strange revolutions and adventures as well as in *Italy*.

The Books of *Aristotle* having been brought into *France* about the beginning of the thirteenth Century by the *French*, which took *Constantinople*, his Doctrine was begun to be publickly taught in the University of *Paris*, and continued so for some time; but there happened in that University one of a turbulent Spirit, named *Amaury*, who undertaking to justifie his extravagancies by the Principles of *Aristotle* then begun to be taught, and whose Physicks he had read; he was condemned of Heresie by a Council held in the same place, in the year 1209. the Books of *Aristotle* were burnt, and the reading of them forbid upon pain of Excommunication. The truth is, this pretended Doctor did hold strange absurdities; as for Example. That God served for Form to the matter of all natural beings; That this matter being uncreated was Divine, and such like Visions: These errours were imputed to *Aristotle*; he having taken his Principles from him, as they pretended; because they did not yet know him. Afterwards his Metaphysicks were condemned by that assembly of Bishops which was held at *Paris* under *Philip Augustus*; and six years afterwards the Cardidnal *de* St.

Eſtienne being ſent into *France* by Pope *Innocent* the Third in quality of Legat, forbad the profeſſors of the Univerſity to teach Phyſick, which was confirmed ſixteen years afterwards Bull of *Gregory* the Ninth, directed to the Univerſity at *Paris*. *Simon* of *Tournay*, a very famous Profeſſor of Divinity in the ſaid Univerſity; and *Peter* of *Durant*, Maſter of Arts, were ſometime after accuſed of Hereſie, for being too much addicted to the opinions of *Ariſtotle*.

But whilſt theſe diſgraces happened to the Doctrine of this great man, there were found at *Paris* three of the ableſt Divines of that time, who began to honour him with their works and Comments: *Alexander d'Ales*, *Albert le grand*, and St. *Thomas* his Scholar. St. *John Damaſcenus*, had firſt opened the gate to that way they took: For having made a very exact abridgment of the Logick and Morals of *Ariſtotle*; he compoed a very exact method to put in order that excellent work of Divinity, which he has left us in thoſe four books of the Orthodox Faith; 'twas in this order and after this model that *Peter Lombard* diſpoſed the opinions of the Fathers upon Divinity, near four hundred years after St. *Damaſcene*, in his book of Sentences. A work which St. *Thomas* brought to utmoſt perfection by following ſo well that great Original, of which *Damaſcene*, and the Maſter of the Sentences, had the firſt pattern from *Ariſtotle*. But St. *Thomas* undertook to follow their ſteps without,

without observing their Method; For he took a very particular way, by which he became the first Founder of the Scholasticks, which were afterwards so much in vogue, and which he (its probable) had at first from the *Arabes*: I presume not to urge a belief of it on my word, It is only a thought which I submit to the judgment of the wise, as a conjecture in which I may be deceived.

I say then, That when St. *Thomas* was born into the world; It was about 400 years that the *Arabes* had been the only learned men which studied Philosophy, whilst it was not above one hundred years that the love of Learning was not revived in *Europe*. Those people, whose Empire was as great as the *Romans*, at least for the extents of their Conquests, which reached from the *Indies* even into *Spain*, imprinted their Genius and their manners, not only in their subjects, but likewise in all people, with whom they had any kind of Commerce, that is to say in all *Europe*; and whilst their studies were confin'd to their Religion, the Mathematicks and Philosophy, and that they knew neither Eloquence nor curious Arts; Painting and Ingraving being by their Law forbid them. It need not be admired, if by the undisturbed contemplations of their minds naturally reflexive, they became so speculative, and so knowing in the Metaphysicks, or that they so much refined themselves by Logick and Physick, which was their ordinary study, and to which their nature most excited them.

So

So that after three hundred years ſpent in the ſtudy and interpretation of *Ariſtotle*, they had made that ſtudy and their Commentaries neceſſary to the Chriſtians, who began to ſtudy in the Weſt, when Letters were re-eſtabliſhed towards the end of the Twelfth Century, at which time *Bagdat* was taken by the Tartars. The *Arabes* being then the only knowing men of that time, and having gained a great authority over Learning, had eſtabliſhed in the Schools their manners of teaching; St. *Thomas* finding no other, took them, and was afterwards followed by the Scholaſticks. Thus thoſe barbarous terms made uſe of in late Philoſophy without ſcruple, were taken from *Avicenna*, and the other *Arabes*, to whom thoſe manners were without doubt natural and familiar; and theſe terms by traduction, became from good *Arab*, which its poſſible they were to be very wicked *Latins*. It is without doubt in this manner this Philoſophy was corrupted by the Commerce with thoſe that were then Maſters of it: It is likewiſe to be believed, that if St. *Thomas* had known ſome other way of teaching Philoſophy, that he had yet reaſon to follow what he had taken from the *Arabs*, to confound their pride, and make them ſee that the Catholick Religion might eaſily be defended from their Calumnies, even in their own way of teaching and following their *Ariſtotle*, to whom they were ſo ſtrangely affected; it is poſſible likewiſe that this ill ſmack of the *Arabs*, who were

were little maſters of ſpeech, may creep into the Schools of *Europe*, as that of the *Goths* has crept into Architecture and other Arts.

It is likewiſe obſerved, that theſe people addicted theſelves to the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, rather then that of *Plato*; becauſe they found the former better eſtabliſhed then the latter among the *Greeks*, from whom they received the Sciences, as appears from *John Damaſcene*, who was the firſt Chriſtian Philoſopher that lived under the Government of the *Muſſulmans*; beſides that the Genius of the *Arabes*, contributed much to make them prefer *Ariſtotle* before *Plato*; the lofty and eloquent air of the laſt reliſhing leſs with them then the conciſe ſtile, and ſolid reaſonings of the other, but theſe are all but conjectures; yet if I app ar too conceited in them, I could poſſibly give ſome value to them from the authority of St. *Thomas*, and all the moſt judicious Philoſophers, who have much complained that the *Arabs* had corrupted Philoſophy. In ſum, thoſe hands by which *Ariſtotle* came into *Europe*, were not very clean; becauſe thoſe people did not well underſtand the *Greek* Tongue. But I return to the adventures of *Ariſtotle* in the Univerſity of *Paris*.

There was a new reformation begun in the year 1366. by the Cardinal St, *Mark* and St. *Martin*, Commiſſionated by Pope *Urban* the fifth, for the re-eſtabliſhing in *France* the Doctrine

ctrine of *Aristotle*. It was commanded by this reformation, That none should be admitted Masters of Arts, who had not first been examined by *Aristotles* books of Logick, Metaphysicks, Physicks, and of the Soul. The Cardinal *d'Estouteville* was in 1466. deputed by *Charles* the seventh to see these Rules observed, which had for some time been much neglected, who commanded they should study *Aristotle* more diligently then they had done to revive the splendor of the University of *Paris*, which began to be obscured by this negligence.

In the year 1447. Pope *Nicholas* V. who was the restorer of Sciences in *Italy*, commanded the most able people of his time to make a new translation of the works of *Aristotle*, for the use of the Theologists of the *Roman* Church. His Secretary *George* of *Trabisond* a knowing *Peripatician*, laboured hard in it; after having signalized himself under the name of *Theodorus* of *Thessalonica* in the disputes he had upon *Plato* and *Aristotle*, against the Cardinal *Bessarion*, and *Gemistus Plethon*. *Alphonsus* of *Arragon*, one of the most learned princes that ever was, having begun to understand the merit of *Aristotle* by commerce with his Commentators *Moors and Arabs*, and above all the reading of *Averroes*, instantly intreated the Cardinal *Bessarion* to translate the Metaphysicks of this Philosopher, which he did with with good success. And Pope *John* the XXII. who Cannonized St.

Thomas

Thomas, and his Doctrine exalted the renown of *Ariſtotle*, whoſe Principles this Doctor of the Church had entertained. In fine his reputation became ſo univerſal throughout the world, that his Philoſophy began to paſs every where for the Rule and Model of all Philoſophers.

But towards the end of the Fourteenth Century it was very much refined by that furious emulation formed upon the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle*, between the *Nominals* and *Realiſts*, and between the *Thomiſts* and the *Scotiſts*, who had among themſelves great conteſtations; but who both withſtood the *Nominals*. Theſe diſputes divided in ſuch manner all the Univerſities of *Europe*, that that ſolid Character which was the Character of *Ariſtotle*, was almoſt vaniſhed into Air by thoſe ſubtilties which theſe Spirits had conceived in their heads, and which in the purſuit corrupted by the confuſion of their Idea s and reflexions, the purity of the Doctrine of Philoſophy. The main ſeat of War between the Scholars of St. *Thomas* and thoſe of *Scotus*, was *The univocation of the being*; and the principal ſubject of the diſputes between the *Nominals* and the *Realiſts*, was *The diſtinction of formalities*, which thoſe pretended to be only purely Intellectual, and theſe would have to be real, Every one took his part in theſe Sects, and in thoſe which were formed ſoon after from the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle*, according to the Engagement of Intereſt inclination or paſſion, and ſometimes of the habit which

he wore, those who were free followed the universal humour of the age in which they lived; but there came forth now such an inundation of writings upon Philosophy, that *Patricius* a *Venetian* Philosopher affirms, That there was counted in his time more then twelve thousand Volumes on the Philosophy of *Aristotle* only; so fierce was the itch of writing upon, and refining the great matter grown; and that passion appeared chiefly in the heat and emulation which was bred between the Scholars of St. *Thomas* and *Scotus*, and between the followers of *Bid*, *Occam*, and *George* of *Arimini*.

And so high was this annimosity carried through the liberty of permiting all things to the imagination of those that had the art of subtilizing, that the Doctrine of *Aristotle* was confounded among all these parties, and the tumult that was raised in the Schools (which rung with his name) served only to drown his own voice that it could now almost be scarce distinguished, so much was it stifled by *those Entities of the mean*, *those distinctions of place intern and extern*, *that predetermination of Physick*, *those precisions*, *those reflex intentions*, *that univocation of the being*, *those entitative parts*, *that eduction of Material forms*; and all those Models of modern Philosophy. This Philosophy was scarce now any more to be known; for the idleness of the Age, the ill humour that Reigned by the ignorance of good Letters, and the excessive fancy of disputing had

had left the Reins ſo looſe to thoſe vain ſubtilties, that Philoſophy loſt thereby almoſt all its credit and reputation, whilſt by theſe ſubtilties they leſs ſought out truth then oſtentation, and ſeem'd poſſeſſed with a certain Spirit of contradiction, which is the ordinary Character of vanity; and as nothing more corrupted the ancient Philoſophy then the falſe ſubtilties of *Chryſippus*, with which he embroyled it; ſo nothing more prejudiced the true Philoſophy then the refinement of ſome Moderns upon certain matter, become famous in the Schools only for their novelty. Thus the diſordered paſſion which all men had for *Ariſtotle*, every one ſtriving to have him of his ſide, and force him to his party, was none of his leaſt perſecutions.

Yet after all, the reputation of this Philoſopher was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in the Univerſity of *Paris*; and his authority was grown ſo great, that they could not ſuffer the boldneſs of a Profeſſor of that Univerſity called *Ramus*; who thinking to make himſelf accounted a fine Fellow by ſome new ſubtilties in Logick, cauſed ſome obſervations to be Printed upon the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, to leſſen his credit; the noiſe of which being ſpread in the Schools, *Ramus* was accuſed by the other profeſſors, and by Letters patents of King *Francis* the firſt, was condemned in the year 1542. for ignorant raſh and impudent, in daring to write againſt *Ariſtotle* to overthrow the orders eſtabliſhed in the Univerſity,

verſity, where no other Doctrine was taught but that of this Philoſopher. *Peter Galand*, and *James Carpenter*, two at that time of the moſt learned of the Univerſity, writ againſt him in defence of *Arioſttle*.

But nothing did more honour to the Doctrine of this great Man in the paſt age, then the ſevere Invectives of *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, *Calvin*, *Poſtel*, and *Paul Sarpy*, and all thoſe who in that time writ againſt the Church of *Rome*; who onely complained of *Ariſtotle*, becauſe the Solidity of his Method gave a great advantage to the Catholicks to diſcover the cheats and artifices of falſe Reaſonings, with which Hereſie ſerves it ſelf to diſguiſe lying, and deſtroy truth. 'Twas found in effect, that of all the Philoſophers *Ariſtotle* was the moſt proper to maintain by Rationality the truth of our Religion, which has always been ſo conformable to true Reaſon. This was the motive which obliged the Doctors of the Univerſity of *Paris*, to make in the year 1611. a new Rule, commanding all Profeſſors to teach the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, and ſetting down the method of teaching beneficially.

In fine, the Parliament of *Paris* gave ſentence in the year 1624. upon the requeſt of the Faculty, againſt the *Theſes* propoſed by ſome particular perſons contrary to the Doctrine of *Ariſtotle*; and the ſame Parliament in the year 1629. gave Sentence againſt ſome extravagant Chymiſts, (upon the Remonſtrances of the *Sorbone*) who

who held, that to oppoſe the Principles of *Ariſtotle's* Philoſophy, was to oppoſe thoſe of Scholaſtick Divinity received in our Church.

Such was then in *France* the Reputation of this Philoſophy, which was likewiſe already eſtabliſhed in all the Univerſities of *Europe*, where no other Philoſophy is at preſent taught then that of *Ariſtotle*. This univerſal conſent of all Nations to eſteem him, is a great diſtinction of his merit; for there is none at preſent owned but he in the Univerſities of *Italy*, *Germany*, *England*, *Poland*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *France*, & the *Low-Countreys*. In ſhort, to finiſh this Diſcourſe, It may be averred, that the value wherein the Doctrine of this great man has been in theſe laſt ages, has been the Standard to rate the knowledge of the times by; his worth has been beſt known, when there was wit enough to underſtand him, or a ſtrength and perſeverance ſufficient to apply to, and continue the ſtudy of him; and thoſe Ages have been moſt learned, wherein he has been beſt known. 'Tis true, there have been ſome particular perſons in theſe latter times that have ſpoken things little favourable of him; and among others, *Picus Mirandula* in his Book of the Vanity of Sciences, *Patricius* in his Diſcuſſions, *Vives* in the cauſes of the Corruption of Arts, *Bodin* in his Republicks, *Bacon*, *Galilaus*, and *Gaſſendus* in their Treatiſes of Philoſophy: But it is to be obſerved, that they were onely people who

had entertained a conceit to make themselves heads of parties, as well as *Hobbs*, *Digby*, and *Des Cartes*, who have huddled together old fragments of the Philosophy of *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Nicetas*, *Seleucus*, and some other Ancients, to make themselves Authors of a new Philosophy, which they could not establish but by the destruction of *Aristotle's*, the most renowned of all.

We have seen the Rise of these Philosophers, and we shall see their Fall: It is true, that *Des Cartes* is become the most considerable by the merit and quality of some persons who have honoured him with their protection, which we ought to respect. But it ought not therefore to be suffered that some fresh-men in Learning of that party, well satisfied with themselves to have soon attained to some principles of this Philosophy, which easily invades the sense of mean capacities, should think themselves therefore authorized enough to treat *Aristotle* as a Wretch in Logick, and one that deserved their pity. *Causabon*, who was one of the greatest Criticks of this Age, observes on his Notes on *Diogenes Laertius*, that never any but Sophists, and half-witted people talked ill of *Aristotle*; and he authorizes his opinion by that of an ancient Philosopher, who had said the same thing by the Sophists and Dunces of his time:

Πάντες σοφισταὶ καὶ ἐριστικοὶ καὶ ῥήτορες. *Aristocl. in notis Causab. in Laer.*

time: And indeed he is a depth unfathomable for mean ſpirits, not to be conſidered in cold blood without trembling. *Themiſtius* aſſures us, that it is impoſſible to underſtand or explain *Ariſtotle* well, without having received from him a portion of his ſpirit and judgment, to the end to fix ones mind to the reaſon, without the prepoſſeſſion of any particular opinion. Which may ſerve as a rule to thoſe who concern themſelves to be deciders of his Merit and Doctrine, without underſtanding what it is, or knowing this Philoſopher by himſelf.

In all which I cannot forbear to lament his misfortune, for the injury he has done him; for he is not ordinarily read but by his Interpreters, of which the moſt part make diſcourſe of the matters of which he treats, without duly conſidering his words, like *Eudemus* the *Rhodian*; others have explained him by Abridgments and Epitomies, as St. *Damaſcene*, *Pſellus*, and *Pachymeres*; others have made Paraphraſes on his Text, as the *Arabs*, and ſeveral other Commentators. The variety of theſe manners of interpreting him has cauſed that diverſity of ſtrange opinions they impute to him, and created that confuſion found among the moſt part of his followers, who know no more the true *Ariſtotle*, among thoſe many Explications by which his Doctrine is ſo much diſguiſed, and amongſt the different Interpretations with which his Text has been corrupted by the Commentators of la-

ter time. And it may be affirmed almoſt to a certitude, that nothing has ſo much authorized the New Opinions, as that ſcurvy manner of retailing the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, of late uſed by ſome ſpeculative Pretenders, to be the moſt devout followers of his Doctrine. It is likewiſe probable that men had not ſo much run after Modern Philoſophy, but out of the little ſatisfaction they found in that taught at preſent under the name of *Ariſtotle*; which diſorder continues, becauſe the moſt part of thoſe that teach, copy one from the other, without going to the Spring, and fetching his Doctrine from its Fountain.

But though it ſeems in vain to oppoſe theſe Diſorders, which are ſo firmly rooted by the evil humours and fancies of the paſt age; and that the natural lazineſs of the *Spaniards* joyned with their flegm, has authorized them by their too ſtrait-laced, and too Metaphyſical Speculations; yet I will be bold to ſay, that it were to be wiſhed *Ariſtotles* Doctrine were eſtabliſhed in its purity; and that thoſe who have a zeal for his Philoſophy, would take the pains to ſtudy it in its ſimplicity as it is writ by himſelf, or as it is explained by his Primitive Commentators: For by this means they might underſtand the true thoughts of this Philoſopher without miſtaking him, and diſtinguiſh his *Dogma's* from his Problems, and his Deciſions from his Doubts without confounding them. It will be found poſſibly

possibly when reflection shall be made, that all these Distinctions purely intellectual, these Formalities, and these Precisions introduced in the Schools, are not at all conformable to the Doctrine of *Aristotle*, since himself makes them pass in several places of his Metaphysicks for the refinements of Sophists. *For it belongs, says he, onely to the Sophists to examine of* Coriscus, *and* Coriscus *the Fidler be the same man or no.* He repeats the same thing in divers other places of his Metaphysicks; by which it appears how much he shuns those hollow imaginations whereon the Sophists ground their most ordinary and most solid imaginations: For which *Lucian* cruelly scoffs at the Philosophers of his time, who busie themselves with baubles, disputing words and names, rather then things; and leaving the kernel, content themselves with the shell. 'Tis true, that by mixing these Metaphysical Disputes somewhat too indifferently in Morality and Divinity, those Sciences are corrupted, which are not receptible of them by reason of their natural solidity and simplicity.

Οἱ σοφιστῶν λόγοι περὶ τὸ συμβεβηκός μάλιστα πάντων πότερον ἕτερον ἢ ταυτὸν μουσικὸς Κορίσκος καὶ Κορίσκος *Metaph. l. 6. c. 2.*

Lucian in Hermotimo.

Before I conclude, I cannot pass by some things wherewith *Aristotle* is reproched, and against which it would not be hard to justifie him.

I readily agree, that he is not infallible, being a man as others are. I acknowledge likewise that he is mistaken in many things; but I cannot but wonder that many worthy men, as *Picus Mirandula*, *Patricius*, *Gassendus*, and such others, should reproch him with toys, as that he has committed gross Errours in Geometry, Astronomy, Meteors, and the History of Animals. 'Tis true, that he believed the world more elevated towards the North then elsewhere: That the *Danube* had its Spring among the *Pyrenæan* Hills: That there was no Arteries in the Waste, or middle of man; and that the Heart was the principle of the Sinews, and not the Brain, as *Galen* reproches him. In short, he is deceived in many things, and all the greatest men of the world have been decived as well as he; but the respect we ought to bear to the greatness of their *Genius* should make us forbear twatling on every little fault, since these faults themselves made in small matters, are often the marks of the application they had to things more great and essential: And besides, 'tis most certain, that in progress of time Mathematical Instruments for observation of the Stars, Microscopes, Chimistry, the frequent dissections of Animals, to know the dispositions of things, and several other modern Arts, have contributed much to discover those Secrets of Nature which *Aristotle* could not know; and he ought to have justice done him,

Galen de utilit. respir.

if

if he were ignorant of these Secrets for want of fit aids. If *Ptolomy*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Sosigenes*, *Clavius*, and some Moderns have found in the train of time some errours in the Computations the ancient Astronomers made of the Course of the Sun, Moon, and other Stars, in which we are deceived so little, why should it be any wonder if Experience has discovered Faults in *Aristotle*, in those matters in which we are daily deceived, by reason of the uncertainty of their Foundations.

But there are other more essential faults with which he is reproched; as the Impossibility of the Creation, by maintaining that Principle, *That nothing can be made out of nothing*; That the World is eternal; That the Providence of God is so confined to Cælestial, that it extends not to Sublunary things; That the Matter has a desire and natural impreisment to perfect it self into Form; and in short, that imagination of the eduction of material Forms from the Matter, which is so incomprehensible to all Physicians. But it would be no hard matter to answer all these reproches made somewhat unjustly against *Aristotle*, if it were ones business to make him pass for irreproveable; which I pretend not to do. For first, for that Principle destructive to the Creation; It is evident, that *Aristotle* believed it no farther, then for the ordinary Generation of Natural Beings. Secondly, for the Eternity of the World, it is very probable he believed it not in the utmost

ſenſe, ſince he lays down a Problem in his Topicks; where, if he taught it, he muſt miſtake himſelf about the Eternity of the Heavens, which he proves by their incorruptibility, not having then known any corruptible qualities, which he found out afterwards. In the third place; If he did not believe Providence to be ſuch, as in effect it is, it is not to be admired, not having the bleſſing of Faith, without which we can neither ſpeak nor think well as we ought to do of God; for the deſire the matter has to perfection, we ought not to attribute to *Ariſtotle*, that which his Commentators make him to ſpeak, ſometimes too high, and ſometimes too low: 'Tis but too well known, that the *Arabs* began firſt to corrupt his Doctrine by falſe Explications, which may likewiſe be underſtood by the eduction of Forms from the Matter, which is imputed to *Ariſtotle*; of which he thought no more, then of the Phyſical Præmotion in things Moral, though he believed it neceſſary (as in effect it is) in Phyſick. There are many things to be ſaid of this great man, which I am conſtrained to omit; becauſe I would conclude, and ſee, after all, what benefit may be reaped from all this great Diſcourſe, by the following Reflections.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Some Christian Reflections on this Discourse.

1. IT will sure be no hard matter to believe after all I have said, That humane Reason never appeared in so much natural force and vigour, as in *Plato* and *Aristotle*: Most certain it is, that they had so far dived by the power of their spirits, into the most impenetrable Abyss of Nature, that scarce any thing seems to have escaped their view. Why then should we with such curiosity brand the falseness of their Lights, and Wandrings of their Conduct? A thousand ages, and a thousand lives will never produce any thing approching to the exrent of their almost immense capacities: And yet since they are mistaken in many things, is it not a horrible presumption in meaner spirits to believe that they are not capable of errour? Can any behold the defaults of that reason which appeared so sublime in these great men, and not be distrustful of their own?

2. Nothing can make us better comprehend the weakness of mans spirit, then what we read of

of the *Ægyptians*, they were the wiſeſt, the moſt enlightened, and moſt intelligent of all people; the whole world paid homage to their knowledge; and whoever had a deſire to learn, went into *Ægypt* to be inſtructed. The *Greeks* commenced in knowledge by conferences with theſe people. They had likewiſe ſuch great Souls, ſuch vaſte deſigns, and ſuch unlimited thoughts, that their Kings erected Buildings of a Magnificence ſurpaſſing all that the reſt of the world had ſeen. One of their Princes cauſed a *Pyramide* to be built near *Memphis*, at which he had continually at work Three hundred thouſand men for Twenty years together. And yet with all theſe Lights which filled the ſpirits of theſe people with all this Sublimity of Soul, to what ſtrange extravagancies of Superſtition ſuffered they themſelves to be tranſported in matters of Religion, abaſing themſelves to a groſs Worſhip of the moſt ridiculous Divinities that can be imagined? So true it is, that Reaſon alone is not to be liſtened to in the Concerns of God, and Religion.

3. The Purity and Delicacy of our Faith is ſo great, that it will not ſuffer its Lights to be mixed with thoſe of Reaſon. *Origen* became a Heretick, by being too reſolute in maintaining the Doctrine of JESUS CHRIST by the Philoſophy of *Plato*; and *Tertullian* fell not into the Errour of the *Montaniſts*, but by too great addiction to the Morals of the *Stoicks*, which

which inſpired him with that ſpirit of Severity that loſt him. This was that which rendred the Philoſophy of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* ſo much ſuſpected to the Primitive Chriſtians, by reaſon of the diſorders they cauſed in thoſe too much affected them. There is required in a Chriſtian Humility and Submiſſion, and profane Philoſophy inſpires onely Pride and Preſumption. Nor could our Religion be Supernatural as it is, were it capable of becoming ſubject to the Lights of Reaſon.

4. If the Principles of Heathen Philoſophy clear and enlightned as it was, yet appeared too feeble to enter into any commerce with the Lights of Faith, what judgement ſhould we make of thoſe ſhallow ſpirits, who thruſt themſelves into all diſputes, e're they have yet begun to underſtand what true reaſon is. There required a long tract of Ages to rectifie by many trials and proofs the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, e're it could be made indirectly ſerviceable to our Faith; yet a Libertine ſcarce peept out of the Egg-ſhell, and who has ſeen almoſt not ing, ſhall have the inſolence to ſubject to his weak ſenſe whatever is moſt myſterious and incomprehenſible in our Religion.

5. All the wiſeſt among the antient Philoſophers have believed they knew nothing: In

Omnes veteres nihil cognoſci, nihil percipi, nihil ſciri poſſe dixerunt anguſtos ſenſus, imbecillos animos, brevia curricula vitæ, &c. Cic quæſt. academic. l 1.

ſumme,

ſumme, the uncertainty of the Senſes which are ſuch deceivers, the natural obſcurities of the Heart of man, the weakneſs of his Spirit, Education, Cuſtom, Opinion, the tumult of ordinary Paſſions, and thoſe prepoſſeſſions no power can ſurmount, have ſo utterly effaced all thoſe footſteps of Truth which remained in man, that the moſt common Secrets of Nature appear inconceiveable to the moſt wiſe and knowing. The Spiders Web confounds us, the Art of a Silk-worm or Bee ſurpaſſes us; a Fly, an Ant, are Myſteries to our ignorance; and indeed the Spirit of man knows nothing perfectly of the moſt minute things that can be known in Nature, yet he has the preſumption to lift himſelf up to Heaven, and raiſe himſelf a Tribunal above the Tribunal of the Eternal God, to pierce into his Secrets, and judge what is moſt hard to be comprehended in his nature.

Non decet humano judicio divina penſitari. Tertul.

6. We can ſee nothing certain in things moſt expoſed to our view; we cannot ſay preciſely, whether the Earth on which we walk moves under our feet; or whether the Heavens move over our heads. After ſo many Books writ on this Subject, and almoſt Two thouſand years Diſpute, it cannot be determined; yet we pretend to know what is moſt concealed from us, and inacceſſible to

Quod eſt ante pedes nemo videt, & cœli ſcrutamur plagas. Ex Pacuvio.

to our Souls: One man cannot judge of the thoughts of another man without miſtake; yet he thinks to judge of thoſe of God, and dive into his Secrets without deception. We permit our ſelves to be ſurprized in all the judgements we make of things; Fear, Deſire, Inclination, Intereſt, prevent or draw us on; and our Senſes themſelves are ſo ſubject to cheat themſelves in things moſt ſenſible, that ſure we cannot truſt them in things that are not ſo, without being extravagant.

7. Of all Natural Truths, the moſt profound one that is engraven in the heart of man, is the Exiſtence of a God, whatever ſhews it ſelf to our ſight, perſwades us to it; there is nothing in Morality wherein we find ſo great an agreement of opinions; all times, all Nations, all Schools ſubmit to it. *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* the moſt profound of all the Philoſophers, could ſpy out this Truth in the midſt of Heathen darkneſs; both the one and the other have given thoſe Demonſtrations of it which have been received by all poſterity. *Plato* has proved the Exiſtence of a Sovereign Being by the Idea of the Framer of the World, which is the work of an Intelligence; as one may prove the Exiſtence of an Architect by the Palace he has built. And *Ariſtotle* proves a God by the neceſſity of a firſt Mover: 'Tis the moſt evident of all the Demonſtrations *Avicenna* found in *Ariſtotle*, which he begins (as he pretends) at the end of the Eighth Book

Book of his Physick, and concludes at the end of the Twelfth Book of his Metaphysicks. The greatest Genius's of Antiquity, *Pythagoras*, *Hippocrates*, *Socrates*, *Theophrastus*, *Galen*, who had studied Nature with an extream diligence, could not comprehend the order and œconomy of humane things without comprehending a God. In fine, that Unity of an Infinity of solid Reasons sustaining one the other; the Purity of Christian Morals, the depth of our Mysteries, the Holiness of our Ceremonies, the Holy Scriptures, the Accomplishment of all the Prophesies in the Old Testament, the Bloud of the Martyrs, the Succession of St. *Peter*, the Consent of all wise and knowing men that ever lived, confirm this Truth; uncontradicted by any, but Spirits corrupted by Sensuality, Presumption, and Ignorance.

8. This Truth appears yet more evident by the extravagance of the belief opposed to it. There is nothing more monstrous in nature then Atheism; 'tis a disorder of spirit conceived in Libertinisme: No wise well ordered reasonable man did ever doubt of Religion, It must be some shallow Spirit blown up with the success of some Sonnet, or Madrigal, that has found applause in the world. It must be some Debauch, who has never had his head free, nor his mind undisturbed to judge wholesomely of any thing. It must be some Courtier, who has never studied the bottom of any thing, and knows only

some

ſome few Chapters of *Montague*, or ſome few Periods of *Charron*. It muſt be ſome falſe pretender to Wiſdom, who has neither Prudence, nor Conduct, but clothes himſelf in appearances, and perfectly acts the Comedy. It muſt be ſome Woman drunk with her merit and beauty, and abandoned to her pleaſure, who has no Soul, but what was nurtured in Libertiniſme. In ſhort, whatever there is of corrupt manners, whatever there is of weakneſs of reaſon, whatever there is of diſorder of mind in the world, reſiſts what Faith teaches us of God, and his Exiſtence, whilſt Honeſty, ſound Senſe, and Equity, and Solidity of Judgement ſubmit to this belief. And is there any appearance, that thoſe who have their minds diſordered, and their hearts corrupt, ſhould be more intelligent, and enlightened in matters of Religion, then thoſe whoſe manners are moſt holy, and unreprochable.

9. Man of himſelf is but weakneſs and ignorance; the Libertine is more ignorant and weak then other men, becauſe he is more paſſionate, and leſs intent. Religion is of its nature, and by its Character ſomething obſcure and concealed. Theſe are three Reaſons ſufficient to ſuppreſs the raſhneſs of impious judgements, or at leaſt to ſuſpend their Precipitation or levity.

Eſt in ipſis rebus obſcuritas, & in judiciis noſtris infirmitas. Cic. quæſt. Acad. l. 4.

10. 'Tis

10. 'Tis true, 'tis one of the insolencies of humane Spirits, rather to deny what they comprehend not, then to acknowledge with submission and modesty what they are ignorant of. But what would become of all natural Truths, which are to us inconceiveable, if what is incomprehensible is not true? And certainly this incredulity is rather an effect of the vanity of man, then of his weakness or ignorance; and that vanity overturns his brains and his sense, and makes the Libertine believe he does a noble act, when he condemns what others approve: And as soon as he has the whim in his head, that 'tis a shame to believe without dispute, he easily imagines that it is a witty and a pleasant thing, rudely to deny what all the world believes.

11. Man, though so free, so independent, so fierce, finds always in the bottom of his soul such a natural aptitude, and strong inclination to acknowledge above himself a Sovereign Being, and to depend thereon; that he choses rather to frame to himself ridiculous and impertinent Gods, when he wants Light, enough to find the true one; then to live without such a dependance: He abases himself to the adoring of Beasts, he that is their Master; and under them acknowledges a Conferrer of good, a shadow of the Divinity. This so general consent of all people, of whom none were ever found without the belief of a God, is an instinct of Nature, which cannot be false, being so univer-

sal;

ſal; and it would be a madneſs then to hearken to the wild judgements of two or three Libertines at moſt, who in each age have denied the Divinity, thinking to quiet their ſpirits in their diſorders.

12. Is it to be believed, that a Judgment ſo Catholick, and ſo ſtrongly imprinted by Nature, can be an Illuſion? Are thoſe Terrours which torment the Conſciences of wicked men; thoſe tremblings and fears which accompany crimes; that holy horrour we feel when we approch any place where there is but the leaſt footſtep of Sanctity; thoſe tender, yet lively comforts good Souls feel in the practice of virtue: Are all theſe vain Images, and onely pure effects of imagination? The pleaſure we found in doing our duties, is it a falſe pleaſure? And the joy of a good Conſcience, is it a falſe joy?

13. What can a Libertine oppoſe againſt the general conſent of all times, and all Nations to ballance this belief? What reaſon evident enough can he have to the contrary? He, all whoſe reaſon to ſuſtain his Impiety, is onely a pure doubt ordinarily conceived in his debauches; and all whoſe diſputes can at beſt reach but to a confuſed huddle of Idea's, utterly inſupportable to a man of ſound ſenſe: For when men will be obſtinate not to believe what ſeems credible to all others, they ſometimes engage themſelves to believe the moſt incredible things in the world; for the Heart and Soul of man are no longer ſen-

ſible of any thing, when they once grow inſenſible of this general impreſſion which the belief of a God has made on our nature; nor can this impreſſion be falſe, as I have already ſaid, ſince it is imprinted on all the world.

14. The greateſt honour man can render to God, is to ſubmit his Soul under the feet of his Authority, believing what he has ſaid, becauſe he has ſaid it; all the glory we can give him, is contained in this ſubmiſſion, which bears the character of the greateſt reſpect of man to God-ward. 'Twas thus the Schollars of *Pythagoras* honoured their Maſter, they received his Anſwers for Deciſions, and there was no more doubt when he had ſpoken. If we were Chriſtians, as the Scholars of *Pythagoras* were *Pythagoreans*, who not onely believed with perfect ſubmiſſion what their Maſter ſaid, but even burnt themſelves with him, we ſhould certainly be better men then we are: And ſurely *JESUS CHRIST* has deſerved better from us, then *Pythagoras* from his Scholars.

15. When this bar of Faith is broken, the ſpirit of man has no more bounds to ſtop him; 'tis faith alone can fix the natural ſtorms of his Curioſity: On what Principle can he found his Manners, when that is overthrown? All the Lights he can draw from Experience, Cuſtom, Education, and Natural Science, will prove vain; his knowledge will ſerve onely to perplex him the more; and though he craved nothing elſe

but

but to be reaſonable, unleſs Reaſon be ſubmitted to Faith, Reaſon will be leſs liſtened to then Senſuality and Paſſion.

16. The Philoſophers, eſpecially the Naturaliſts, Chymiſts, Geometricians, and Phyſicians, by accuſtoming their Spirits too much to knowledges palpable, ſenſible, and evident, have made them very unfit for the Submiſſions of Faith. We grow corrupt by Philoſophy, when we reaſon too much, and raiſe Diſputes on all things.

17. We ought to know how to diſtinguiſh the knowledge of things by their Principles; that is to ſay, to know Senſible things by Senſe, Intellectuals by Reaſon, and Supernatural and Divine things by Faith. Theſe Rules cannot be confounded without begetting diſorder; and that confuſion is the Fountain of Libertiniſme. We muſt apply the rule of Senſe to things purely of Reaſon; and the rule of Reaſon to things purely of Faith. *Plato* confounds not theſe Rules, as appears in his *Timæus*, where he ſays; *That we ought not to diſpute of matters concerning God, but believe them.* We can never be deceived, when we make not a falſe uſe of theſe Principles; which we muſt neceſſarily obſerve, when we will judge wholeſomely of things, and ſpeak truly.

18. That calming of the paſſions, that tranquility of deſires, and that undiſturbed peace of the Wiſe man, which the Heathens have vainly ſought, cannot be found but in the Chriſtians

Morals. That uprightneſs it teaches hath ſomething ſo ſound and ſolid; That if it be true, That Equity is better then Injuſtice, Faithfulneſs then Perfidiouſneſs, Good manners then perverſe and wicked, as it is as true as that one and one are two; the Chriſtian Religon, which makes Profeſſion of all theſe Virtues, and condemns all theſe Vices more then any other Religion, is likewiſe the moſt ſolid, moſt perfect, and moſt true of all Religions.

19. Our Religion complies better with the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle* then the others, becauſe it is the moſt reaſonable; whence it appears, that our Belief is true Wiſdom; ſince it is not onely perfectly conformable to Reaſon, but can likewiſe accommodate it ſelf to the moſt Excellent of all humane Wiſdom, which is the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*.

20. *Plato* laid down the Pattern of a Government, the moſt perfect in Idea, and the moſt accompliſhed that ever was; but this Pattern was never followed by any, nor could the Idea of this admirable Policy ever be made practicable: Whilſt the Diſciples of *JESUS CHRIST*, who were people without Learning, without Power, without Authority, have overthrown *Athens*, and *Rome*, and all the world has believed them; They ſettled a new Religion, for which ſo many Martyrs ſhed their Bloud, and which has been embraced by all the Earth, though at firſt it appeared ſo oppoſite to Senſe and worldly Policy.

21. In

21. In the Profeſſion to be made, or which ought to be made of Philoſophy, there are two extremities to be avoided; the one of taking any party, and the other of taking indifferently all ſorts of parties; Both are equally blameable; 'Tis an inconvenience to addict ones ſelf to one Philoſophy, and to follow one Opinion either by hazard, or engagement of life, or for the habit we wear, or for the Cabal of which we are, becauſe this is to apply ones ſelf to Reaſon not for its own ſake, but for the colour or figure under which it appears. We expoſe our ſelves by ſuch conduct to the ſcoffs *Cicero* makes of the Philoſophers of his time, who *addicted themſelves*, ſays he, *as the party or the matter carried them, as after a ſhipwrack men lay hold on that rock whither the ſtorm drives them:* But there is danger not to fix to ſome opinion, either for hardneſs of belief, or niceneſs of ſpirit; becauſe to fix to nothing is a diſpoſition of doubting all. 'Tis for this reaſon, that the moſt extravagant of all Philoſophers are the *Pyrhoniſts*, and the *Sceptick*s, who out of a ſottiſh vanity they boaſt of believing nothing; and out of a ridiculous errour of mind, choſe rather to wander from opinion to opinion, then ſtay at any thing real and ſolid.

Ad quamcumque diſciplinam velut tempeſtate delati, ad eam tanquam ad ſaxum adhæreſcunt. Cic. quæſt. Academ. l. 4.

23. That Philoſophy which helps not a man to become reaſonable, is a falſe Philoſophy; and that

that Reason which renders not the Spirit tractable and submissive, is a false Reason. Faith that disputes the least is the most pure, and most true; and a simple Villager, who has submission and docility for things of Religion, is preferable to *Plato* and *Aristotle* in the judgement of God himself; if we may belive that avouchment so disadvantageous to great Spirits, and that so submissive Confession which the *Blessed* JESUS once made to his Father with so great a sense of Piety, and Joy, giving him thanks for having done so;

Confiteor tibi Pater Domine Cæli & Terræ, quia abscondisti hæc à sapientibus, & revelasti ea parvulis, Math. cap. 11. v. 25.

So true it is, that the thoughts of God are above the thoughts of man.

FINIS.